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THE GIRL VOTER.

THE Marquis de Condorcet, inspirer of the founder of sociology and friend of the ill-fated Madame Roland, may be deemed the literary father of the Girl Voter. He published the first essay on the political rights of women, entitled *SUR L'ADMISSION DES FEMMES AU DROIT DE CITÉ*,¹ wherein he unconsciously encourages the new voters of 1929.

"It would be difficult," he says, "to prove that women are incapable of exercising the rights of citizenship." And again, "They have shown that they possess the virtues of citizens." And though he thinks that "the rights of men result simply from the fact that they are rational, sentient beings, susceptible of acquiring ideas of morality, and of reasoning concerning those ideas. Women having then the same qualities have necessarily the same rights," yet he sees further, and also thinks that "Women are not governed by the reason and experiences of men; they are governed by their own reason and experience."

As Condorcet clearly perceived, the citizen is to be regarded as both the agent and product of civilisation. And since men and women are partners in the enrichment of civilisation, it is the differences between them rather than the samenesses that are of importance. These differences have been ever-present, and, indeed, over-emphasised; it is this over-emphasis that has caused the 20th century woman to recoil in a reaction that in its turn has under-emphasised her essential qualities. Condorcet fathered the girl voter, but the girl's ancestry goes back into dim mists of antiquity—as far as, indeed, as Eve herself. Always, since the gradual dawn of the human races—there was probably not so hard and fast a line as could be called a beginning—the woman has taken a different share from the man in the process of civilisation; and it is this ancestral share that the girl voter inherits, and should appreciate. She is a descendant of Athene as well as Demeter, of Deborah as well as Martha. The citizen woman's characteristics are derived from nuns, Buddhist and Christian, who lived community lives, as well as from the housewife of the middle ages.

WHAT has been woman's share in Civilisation? Not so evident as man's, it has still formed an abiding structure; she has probably

¹ COLLECTED WRITINGS, 1789.

contributed more to its aspect of Order than to that of Progress, and institutions such as the home, social customs, and morality owe much to her influence. She doubtless may be deemed founder of the family. And the family, as the institution where egoisms began to be subordinated to altruism is the basis of our Civilisation ; and therefore one of the greatest of social changes is due in the main to woman. "The life within the family," says Auguste Comte, "has a deep effect on the whole moral nature. It supplies it with relations so close and varied that they foster in turn all the feelings of sympathy." The family led to the beginnings of home life, and then began refinement, in the sense of greater cleanliness and orderliness. Good manners, one may surmise, were born in homes, and education may be said to have originated with the mother's treatment of her children.

WOMEN at first tilled the ground, while man hunted and fought. Therefore they were responsible to a great extent for a settlement on the land, and so for the beginning of villages. Here began the sense of the needs of others outside the family, for all those enclosed in the walled walls had to be fed. Thus, through the necessity of providing for the village apart from the family, was evoked a civic spirit. There was no coercion, save that of nature, as to the relative spheres of man and woman in primitive times. The great demarcation between the sexes came naturally, and each aided all to keep alive, and so forwarded the process of human evolution : the man hunted and provided food, he fought and protected, he wandered and discovered ; the woman cooked the food and tilled the ground, she made a home, she tended the children and formed their minds and habits. Unconsciously both man and woman were evolving to the citizenship of to-day.

WITH classical times came the type of civilisation as we know it to-day. That manners softened and the affections became more refined is due doubtless in the main to women. The growth of cities gave a new scope to human faculties through being exercised on building such masterpieces as those on the Acropolis, carving such sculpture as the Winged Victory, writing poetry like the *Iliad*, constructing the dramas of Aeschylus, thinking out the philosophies of Pythagoras and Aristotle, and forging out the policies of Solon. But all this concerned men mainly, and women concentrated on the home ; though the spheres sometimes overlapped as when Xenophon was interested in home-keeping and Aspasia and Sappho were concerned in politics and poetry. But in general, as Socrates² makes Iscomachus say to his wife who had lived "under strict surveillance, in order that she might see as little as possible, hear as little as possible, and speak as little as possible," it was thought that the house needed two managers—one out of doors,

²Reported by Xenophon in his *OECONOMICUS*.

ploughing, sowing, planting, grazing, and the rest ; the other indoors to nurse the children, to make the bread and weave the clothes. So woman provided the stability of home and a background to civilisation ; but in not so circumscribed a way as was thought, when we consider the revelations of womanhood in the plays "Antigone" and "Alcestis," and the writings of Plato, Seneca, and Plutarch. The Roman matron is also a figure of dignity, and Cornelia is the typical mother of sons who have attained greatness in working for the community.

WOMAN'S achievement in the middle ages lay in direction of the establishment of social institutions. Earlier historians called this period "dark," but how can those ages be dark which saw the founding of the great European nations, the beginnings of parliaments, the origin of Gothic architecture, the growth of the mediæval towns with their charters and guilds, and the emergence of colleges, schools, universities ? Since it is in social institutions that woman's powers are most revealed, this Catholic-feudal period, with its worship of the divine Mary, that raised all womanhood and with its characteristic of growth, indicates vividly to the girl voter how much her ancestresses did in the way of civilisation. And it was seen by some that they were capable of more. William of Ockham, one of the most original thinkers in the middle ages,³ insisted on the responsibility of the Pope to a General Council of Christendom, and said no such council could be truly representative unless it contained women as well as men.⁴

WOMEN in those days were mainly either wives or nuns ; that is they made homes or they lived a community in convents learning and working : many manuscripts were written by nuns ; and the Benedictines invented Valenciennes lace. It is by this ideal of living a life of service to all that the mediæval nun claims the girl voter as her descendant, for the citizen woman is animated by something of the same spirit. There were exceptional women like Catherine of Siena, who took part in State affairs and was the ambassadress of popes, and Christine de Pisan,⁵ the Italian girl who became French by adoption. Being widowed, with three children, at the age of twenty-five she earned her living by writing. She studied Aristotle and ancient history, and revealed Dante to France by the many allusions in her writings to the *DIVINA COMMEDIA*. Her chief subjects were the amelioration of her war-distraught country,⁶ and the championship of the cause of women. Her greatest work in the latter connection was *LA CITÉ DES DAMES*, which has been called "a golden book of heroines," and which is an account of the building of an imaginary city to shelter women of all times and countries who have distinguished themselves by

³ He died in 1349.

⁴ See his *DIALOGUES* quoted in G. G. Coulton's *SOCIAL LIFE IN BRITAIN FROM THE CONQUEST TO THE REFORMATION*.

⁵ Born in Venice in 1363.

⁶ The Hundred Years' War was in progress.

good and heroic deeds. She shows a great sense of justice and enlightened opinions. She advocates the education of boys and girls together.⁷

THE Renaissance gave opportunities to great figures like Vittoria Colonna and Margaret of France who obtained prominence in the literary sense,⁸ but the great mass of women remained home-makers and child-trainers, with little concern for the other aspects of life. Indeed, home-making and child-training were spheres wide enough, embracing religion, education, social customs, habits, and manners, art, industry, economics. It is in these same spheres, extended beyond the home, that the girl voter of to-day will devote her energies.

PROBABLY this girl voter would not have made her appearance by 1929 had not her great grandmother been forced to go out of her home at the period of the industrial revolution. Then the woman was faced with economic, industrial, and political problems. Men hoped for salvation through the suffrage, and women followed. In itself the vote proved to be of less value than was anticipated; and the agitations to gain it, accompanied by the discussions, the increase of knowledge, the arousal of enthusiasms, and the concentered action were worth more to both the men and the women than the object they sought. The usual time that it takes for a reform to become realised was spent in working for the vote by women—about two generations. It is true, that, as Mary Wollstonecraft says,⁹ "an ardent affection for the human race makes enthusiastic characters eager to produce alteration in laws and government prematurely," but the course of history shows that to be permanent a reform must not be premature. Usually it has taken a few decades less than a century to establish a reform: the trade union movement which started in 1824 accomplished its task by 1923; the efforts to bring about elementary education for all, begun in 1807, attained its object in 1870. Similarly the women's agitation with its fights and seeming set-backs made steady progress, and about two generations after John Stuart Mill's book¹⁰ of 1867, their goal was won in 1918, and the shade of Mary Wollstonecraft was at last appeased. The final equality of qualifications with men was a mere inevitable sequence that rounded off Dame Millicent Fawcett's labours.

THE three millions¹¹ new voters stand on the threshold of a domain that contains nothing new for them except the power of affirming

⁷ For an account of this and other interesting women see *OF SIX MEDIEVAL WOMEN* by Alice Kemp-Welch.

⁸ For more instances of aristocratic ladies see *WOMEN OF THE RENAISSANCE* by R. de Maulde la Claviere.

⁹ In the appendix to her *LETTERS FROM SWEDEN, NORWAY AND DENMARK*.

¹⁰ *THE SUBJECTION OF WOMAN*, a title not philosophically accurate.

¹¹ According to the Registrar-General's figures a majority of these will be between 25 and 30 years of age; and a minority will be engaged in earning their living though the majority in this case includes all those at home not otherwise "gainfully occupied." The actual figures are:—1,361,330 under 25 years; 1,620,209 over 25 years; 1,430,523 earning; 1,551,097 not gainfully occupied.

their opinions at the polling stations ; but the domain is probably greater than they realise. Of much more importance than the mere registration of a vote is the opportunity they can take of actively entering the domain of citizenship and educating themselves to be worthy dwellers therein. It is the girl rather than the voter that demands our attention, and needs the best education our age can give. The average girl of to-day is uncertain as to her course in life, and often affects an air of irresponsibility. Tentatively she feels around, and in her actions there is a want of restraint that causes deep concern to those who care for her welfare. The reasons for such characteristics are two : the one is the loss of the theological sanctions that have bound men and women for long. It is therefore the more excusable to say. " Nothing matters much," when the " pastors and masters " have not made vivid and compelling other motives and ideals. As has been said¹²—

" It is generally acknowledged nowadays that religious sanctions in the narrow sense lack their former force on the spirit of adolescence, and it may be that the arousal of a civic sense of appreciation of the past and responsibility for the future, each expressed in service to the present, will complement those sanctions which are inadequate for the national needs of to-day."

THE other explanation is that the girl's attitude (a rather superficial one) is a reaction against early Victorianism with its artificial restraints and taboos. As is often the case freedom has led to license, but " Youth's a stuff will not endure," and the evils resulting from the freedom belong to youth. They will disappear before the facts and intricacies of individual and social life. Another characteristic of youth, when it is enthusiastic for reform, is to depreciate the past and the established, and to wish the impossibility of " starting afresh." But a greater drawback to progress than this facile enthusiasm is the general apathy due to ignorance or to lack of ideals. How then to deal with the rather wilful, very ignorant, and often uninspired girl voter, who yet can hold in her capable young hands so much of the future ?

WITH her as with the youth a sound, wide, human knowledge of history must be the foundation of their education. Nothing but the story of civilisation can form an adequate background for the forwarding of civilisation. Sociology itself based on the interplay between Past, Present and Future, must be the guide. If youth could have its enthusiasms harnessed to ideals well-adjusted to this continuous interaction of past present and future, what a force they might prove. And only a proper education can do it—an education wherein the colours of imagination paint the drab facts and the fire of interest kindles aspiration ; wherein life and not merely books, teaches.¹³ Thus youth

¹² By the author in *THE TEACHING OF MODERN CIVICS*, Chap. V.

¹³ See an excellent " guide book " to education, *HISTORY THE TEACHER*, by F. J. Gould.

will gain an enlargement of its personality through becoming a conscious member of a great whole. The girl voter may then realise that the party politician is of lessening importance, that workers and thinkers, artists and poets, idealists in action, and women are real powers behind events and conditions. And she will also learn that her task involves no great new departures, as the keen suffragists of twenty years ago anticipated, but a continuance of a process begun by her ancestresses, but now widening into public life. She will inevitably take her qualities into the political sphere as into all others. Sir John Simon has well said that the extension of the vote to women had not made so much difference as many people supposed it would, but it had made the influence of the home more important in our national life. The suffragists used to say that politics had entered the home and now a politician says the home enters politics.

EVEN the positions now occupied or claimed by women are not so new as some suppose: for example, a hundred years ago the authorities of Minshall Vernon, in Cheshire, appointed for the year a female constable, a female overseer, and a female supervisor,¹⁴ since the Courts of Law, ten years before, had decided that women were eligible for office. And in December, 1827, a Miss Macaulay made application to the magistrates at the Middlesex Sessions for permission to deliver lectures on religious subjects in Jerusalem Chapel, Lisle Street, but her application was unsuccessful and she was referred to the Bishop of the diocese. Compare this with the appearance of the Hon. Lily Montague in a pulpit in Berlin in August, 1928—the first time such a thing has happened in Berlin. More than a decade ago Olive Schreiner eloquently said¹⁵—

WE take all labour for our province! From the judge's seat to the legislator's chair; from the statesman's closet to the merchant's office; from the chemist's laboratory to the astronomer's tower, there is no post or form of toil for which it is not our intention to attempt to fit ourselves; and there is no closed door we do not intend to force open; and there is no fruit in the garden of knowledge it is not our determination to eat. Acting in us, and through us, nature we know will mercilessly expose to us our deficiencies in the field of human toil, and reveal to us our powers. . . .

WE, to-day, take all labour for our province! We seek to enter the non-sexual fields of intellectual or physical toil, because we are unable to see to-day with regard to them, any dividing wall raised by sex which excludes us from them. We are yet equally determined to enter those in which sex difference does play a part, because it is here that woman, the bearer of the race, must stand side by side with man, the begetter; if a completed human wisdom, an insight that misses no aspect of human life, and an activity that is in harmony with the entire knowledge and the entire instinct of the entire human race, is to exist. It is here that the man cannot act for the woman nor

¹⁴The incident was recorded in *THE TIMES* for May 25th, 1828, and commented on very sensibly in a leader of *THE TIMES* of May 25th, 1928.

¹⁵In *WOMAN AND LABOUR*, Chapters IV. & V.

the woman for the man ; but both must interact. It is here that each sexual half of the race, so closely and indistinguishably blended elsewhere, has its own distinct contribution to make to the sum total of human knowledge and human wisdom. Neither is the woman without the man, nor the man without the woman, the completed human intelligence.

AND the girl voter can now take what that gifted writer demanded, even to a judgeship, as instanced by the case in Sweden of the first lady judge being appointed.¹⁶ But the cases quoted, and Olive Schreiner's demands, refer chiefly to exceptional positions for women, and woman's work and influence would continue without these. When Home Secretaries and Judges and Archbishops are forgotten, the mass still goes on. Is it not a fact that nowadays an individual is of less importance, yet all individuals are of more importance ?

THERE are hundreds of ways in which the ordinary girl voter can influence events if she is so minded, but though it would be impossible for her or any citizen to concern herself in every department of the civic life, she can have knowledge of them all, and work in connection with some. She will have, as Lord Morley said, "preferences but no exclusions," and that will prevent the common mistake of over-emphasis on one section of life or reform, for as our world swings round the sun as one mass, so the whole of civilisation moves slowly forward more or less in unison, and no one aspect can be unduly accelerated. A few instances may suffice to show how wide and varied is the field of citizenship. If the girl voter merely reads such a book as Sir W. Beveridge's *BRITISH FOOD CONTROL*, or considers the account of Wandsworth's experiment in building flats¹⁷ for the accommodation of large families, it will introduce her to some aspects of what might be called the extended family and its needs. Similar to these flats are the five-roomed cottages with large gardens erected outside Cheltenham, by the Cheltenham Homecroft Association, which are to become the tenants' own freehold in 25 years. And housing schemes of all kinds are general now.

GOING farther afield the girl voter can interest herself in those hives of industry, the Women's Institutes in villages, which have now spread to about 4,000 villages in England and Wales ; or in the doings of the Village Drama Society, or the revival of village crafts, or the continuance of calendar customs such as the beating of the bounds at Rogationtide, the "May Doll" custom and summer dancing.¹⁸

IN picturesque ways, also, do towns celebrate their history in a more self-conscious way, and many a girl voter, expressing her feeling for the dramatic, took part in the Pageants of this year : at Liverpool,

¹⁶ Miss Marguerite Trangott at Stockholm in November, 1927.

¹⁷ Opened in August, 1927.

¹⁸ Miss B. Aitken, Hon. Secretary of the Folk Lore Society (52 Upper Bedford Place, W.C.1), asks for help in making a complete calendar of customs.

with its "ghosts of the past" in which all sea-workers paraded, and which was specially valuable in as much as it depicted ordinary people; at Carlisle where Cumberland's civilisation and Christianity, castle and cathedral, charters and chivalry figured; at Sutton Coldfield where eighteen hundred years of history was packed into a little time; at Aylesbury with its Tudor Revels, and Preston with its Midsummer Night's Fantasy. In honour paid to local citizens or benefactors much can be done to strengthen the ties of citizenship as did Conway in its memorial to Telford, and Sudbury to Gainsborough. Such incidents will engender the love for a native district so well expressed by Mr. Baldwin in his speech at Westminster, which might apply to many an English city:—

"It is true that in nearly all England you have history, but here in small compass you have it packed in strata for all men to see through the thousand years that go back to the beginning of municipal and national government."

To come to more national aspects, there are the various town planning schemes all over the country, Holborn and Oxford being quite recent. It is noticeable that in a correspondence last year in *THE OBSERVER* concerning the most beautiful cities in the world, very few English ones were mentioned—an omission that perhaps the woman citizen will help to correct in the next generation.¹⁸ May she do it in a different spirit from that which caused Lord Hugh Cecil to say recently with questionable taste, "no one expects the new suburbs to be beautiful; the most we may hope is that they will not try to be beautiful!"

HER natural sense of beauty will tell her that even so humble a task as cultivating flowers in back streets may become a work of civic art as the National Gardens Guild endeavours to prove; and to try to preserve harmonious old buildings such as the Tudor Hall at Barnet and Newcastle House at Lewes, or places of natural beauty like Cissbury Ring in Sussex or Tennyson Down in the Isle of Wight, are laudable civic objects pursued by the National Trust.

THE foregoing have all a local or domestic interest, but innumerable affairs of a more general significance make a special appeal to the girl voter to-day. To name only a few taken haphazard from a pile of cuttings: (a) Health, without which there can be no sane citizenship; (b) Child labour all over the world; a book by Dame A. M. Anderson¹⁹ demonstrates conditions in Asia; (c) Prisons, especially in Great Britain; the Commissioners of Prisons issue a report yearly; Borstal System merits consideration; (d) Slavery—in Abyssinia, Sierra Leone and elsewhere. (Note the recent abolition (1926) in Nepal); (e) Cruelty to animals.

STILL farther can the girl voter's interest roam, and her hands can help to guide events in distant lands. All the British Commonwealth is

¹⁸HUMANITY AND LABOUR IN CHINA. (Reviewed in *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, July, 1928).

open to her, and may she never forget her sisters in India. It is not true to say of the East and West that never the twain shall meet. They have already met in some understanding, and such citizens as Margaret Noble²⁰ increase the sympathy between them, and powerfully influence their attitude by interpreting the one to the other. Beyond the British Commonwealth is the larger unit of the League of Nations with its promise of friendship throughout all countries. The recently signed Peace Pact is but an index of the direction in which the world is moving—an index of special interest to woman, the mother, wife, sister, daughter, and lover of soldiers. But the girl voter has to learn that mere peace is not civilisation. Under peace there may be evils without number, such as profiteering, child labour, sweated labour, poverty, disease, ignorance, and slavery. Cessation of war is not the end of all evils, but only of one. We need what Professor William James called "the moral equivalent of war" to fight the others.

It will be noticed that all the topics on which the girl voter is likely to concentrate are personal—children, education, health, housing, slavery, war—and there may be a tendency for her to overlook the important fields of industry and finance, both of which would seem more and more to dominate politics. But even if her activities are mainly exerted in other directions, she must recognise the power of the worker, the captain of industry, and the banker, and take account of their doings if she would attain recognition of her own importance. The age is an increasingly self-conscious one, and therefore it has more need of expression; woman is more apt at self-expression than man. May she then be sure she understands the tendencies of the times when expressing her attitude towards them. So will she work for the civilisation unto which we are moving.

E. M. WHITE.

²⁰ See her *WEB OF INDIAN LIFE* and *CRADLE TALES OF HINDUISM*.

A CONTRIBUTION TOWARDS A PSYCHOLOGICAL CONCEPTION OF INSANITY AND ITS RELATION TO CRIME.

THE following paper is an attempt to give a meaning to insanity from the purely psychological standpoint. With a definite idea of what insanity means on the psychological side, it should be possible to formulate a practical criterion for judging whether a person were sane or insane, so that an insane person might be treated as insane, whether he had committed a crime or not. Further, with a definite psychological conception of insanity, we should be in a position to know what crimes were the natural outcome of the abnormal state of mind which we call insanity. We should also be able to detect the signs of this abnormal mentality in any person before it had led to crime, and we should be in a position to work out (however tentatively) a system of therapeutic treatment which could be applied to the insane criminal as well as to the person whom circumstances had saved from realising to the full those anti-social tendencies which mark all persons of abnormal psychology.

It is in this unsocial tendency or ego-centricity that we have to find our first clue to a psychological conception of insanity. There are some persons who by type or temperament are turned in their mental attitude towards the inner world of psychic processes rather than towards the outer world of reality. In such persons the bar between the sub-conscious and conscious processes of the mind is much slighter than in persons of normal psychology. These persons are given to trances and visions, which they often seek to interpret by cultivating the so-called occult sciences. To them the outside world is of far less value than what they find in the contents of their own minds. Their only interest in the outside world is to give a meaning to what they see within. In persons of this temperament the hold on the outside world is naturally slight. They have a defective sense of social relationship, corresponding to their abnormal susceptibility to the unconscious forces. Under certain conditions they are liable to be swept off from their standing as normal social human beings by the overwhelming forces of the unconscious.

SUCH a type of temperament is the essential conditioning feature of insanity, but at the same time the possession of this type of temperament does not constitute a person insane. Among the class of persons whom we may call "orientated towards the sub-conscious" are many varieties of human beings, among whom we find at one end of the line the genius, the artist and the scientific discoverer. It is because such individuals are open to intuitions from the unconscious that they are capable of the highest creative work. The difference between the genius and the insane person lies in what each finds when he looks into the unconscious. The genius, by fortunate circumstances or by the

necessity of his own psychic perceptions, has kept his link with his social surroundings. Stimulated by the faith of those who believe in him and by his desire to be of use to the world, he will find when he looks into the unconscious those "primordial images" which at the particular moment at which he lives will serve to further human progress. The insane person would not be insane unless he had lost his contact, always slight, with the outside world and its social relationships. Looking into the unconscious he finds the primordial images which agree with his ego-centric view of life. As a man of genius, when in touch with the absolute unconscious, may find such an idea as the conservation of energy, pregnant with possibilities for the future of scientific research, so the insane person may see in a trance the vision of the fire which a mother can put out and in putting out end the life of her son.¹ Both the genius and the insane person are capable of perceiving the primordial images, those "ancient, universal and deep thoughts of mankind" (Jung), but the genius perceives an idea which becomes through him a landmark in the line of human progress, whilst the insane person draws from the unconscious an image which embodies a retrogressive phantasy of power.

THE difference in the nature of the intuitions which two different persons may receive from the unconscious gives us the second clue to a psychological conception of insanity. According to a man's life in the conscious sphere, so are the nature of his psychic perceptions. If a man is fulfilling his social responsibilities and preserving a normal standard of self-respect in his outward life, he will find in the unconscious those images and ideas which are on a level with the ideal which he is fulfilling. If, on the other hand, a man in his social life sinks below the normal standard of self-respect and responsibility, he will tap those psychological strata which correspond with the lower level of his conscious life. To take a practical example, which will be familiar to those who have investigated cases of insanity in the incipient stages, we know that the onset of mental disease is often marked by the fact that a man cannot keep his work. Some influence in the man's life which had helped him before to the facing of social responsibility is removed; he fails on one occasion to live up to the standard of a self-respecting citizen supporting himself or a family. On the very day that such a man first lies in bed and fails in his responsibility, he has put himself at the mercy of forces in the unconscious belonging to the lowest psychological strata of man's history. These forces are such as make for insanity and for crime. They are the potentialities of the human mind at its lowest non-social level. This level, it must be noted, is not a lower evolutionary level, but a lower psychological

¹ The first of these illustrations is taken from Dr. C. G. Jung's discussion of the "primordial image" in *COLLECTED PAPERS ON ANALYTICAL PSYCHOLOGY*, 1917, pp. 410-413; the second, in which the pathological formation corresponds with a Greek mythological theme (the story of Althea and Meleager), is taken from an insane patient's own description to me of a trance in which she had seen the vision of such a fire.

level. Such a man has animated a complex of mental symptoms which from the beginning of time have marked the psychic life of individuals who have failed to maintain that attitude of striving by which a man fulfils his social responsibilities and preserves his sanity.

THIS complex, animated whenever the naturally feeble orientation towards the external world of the type of individual whom we are considering becomes in him a definite shirking of social responsibility, is that definite association of mental symptoms or characteristics which the genius of Freud has isolated as the "Œdipus complex." The intuitions from the unconscious, which always tended to divide such a person from his fellows, making him one alone in his social surroundings, now become in him the source of a definite phantasy of power. Whilst every human being strives for superiority and for that measure of personal freedom and power which justifies his existence to himself, the normal man seeks for a sense of superiority through a resolute facing of the facts of reality and finds confidence by a competent orientation towards the external world. But the person who turns away from the facts and laws of social life, thereby losing all possibility of success as a social human being, must necessarily develop a compensating phantasy of power derived from his sense of contact with the unconscious. Dominated by the forces welling up, though he does not know it, from the lower psychological levels of the sub-conscious, he lives a mental life which is concerned entirely with developing and preserving his phantasy of power. We may surmise that there is always someone in the external life of such an individual who will serve to embody the forces of the unconscious. There must have been someone, in such cases, who first indulged the man or woman, who first gave them a sense of their own greatness and who by relieving them of their legitimate responsibility fed the first beginnings of phantasy. Then as the contact with the outer world lessened in the history of such an individual, so the link with that person became closer, until we have the psychological situation, illustrated in the story of Œdipus, of the man who is married to his mother: the mother, as the source of his existence, being (at least for the man) the natural embodiment of the mysterious forces of the sub-conscious.

HENCEFORTH it will need only a certain set of circumstances to call into activity the complex which was first animated in the mind of such an individual when he definitely failed to meet the demands of reality. At that moment of failure he (psychologically) killed his father. The father (in a man's psychic history) stands for the demands of external reality, while the mother stands for the powerful internal forces. Looking now at the subject from the point of view of environment as it plays upon temperament, we may say that the worst environment for this particular kind of temperament is furnished when the influences of the father and the mother are entirely divergent: when the father

who stands for reality makes that reality painful to the child by his harshness and lack of understanding and when the mother who embodies the emotional forces of the sub-conscious suggests to him by her attitude of indulgence and admiration a phantasy of undiluted personal power. It may be remembered that in the legend the young Oedipus was cast out to die by his father Laius, King of Thebes, because it had been foretold to the latter that he would die by the hand of his son. The child, exposed on a rocky mountain, with a spike through both feet, was found by a shepherd and brought to the court of the King and Queen of Corinth, who, having no child, brought him up as their own son. At the critical moment of his history, when, unknowingly, he was on his way to fulfil his fate by marrying his mother, Oedipus for the second time encountered his father, unknown to him except by the sub-conscious painful memories attached in his mind to the person who had by violence tried to prevent the family ruin fatally linked to the fortunes of Oedipus. Animated by these memories, when his father barred his way at the cross roads and once more with violence strove to prevent the fatal issue, Oedipus slew his father and proceeded unopposed to Thebes. There he revealed the psychic orientation of his character by reading the riddle of the Sphinx (signifying the occult lore of the animal-human mind)² and having been chosen king by the inhabitants married his mother Jocasta according to the oracle.

ALL the dangers of the type of temperament that we are considering are revealed in this story. The father's hostile attitude in the legend arose from fear of his son. He foresaw the fatal attraction which would draw mother and son together, temperamentally the complement of one another. The mother, too, foreseeing the psychic disaster overhanging herself and her son, concurred in the attempt to destroy the child. Both parents having repudiated their responsibility, Oedipus was brought up by foster parents, who had been disappointed in their desire for a child of their own. In this way his phantasy began, for he took the King and Queen of Corinth to be his real parents. They as foster parents ministered to his phantasy, the foster parent in mythology always symbolising the indulgent parent who fails from the facts of the situation to realise full responsibility towards the child. Oedipus thus represents the type of individual who from the beginning is poorly adjusted to external reality. But the way was not clear in his mind for complete psychic union with the sub-conscious forces, typified by marriage with the mother, until he had killed his father. From our point of view it is simpler to take the killing of the father psychologically, as the stifling of the demands of reality within the mind of Oedipus, *because those demands had from the first been presented*

²The peculiar temperament of Oedipus is also evidenced by the words addressed to him by the Priest in the first scene of "Oedipus, King of Thebes":

"A thing consummate by thy star confessed
Thou walkest and by converse with the blest."

(Transl. SIR G. MURRAY).

to him in a painful guise, rather than to take the murder literally as an act of hatred or jealousy against a father whom he did not know. The horror that hangs over the story, as presented, for instance, in the play of Sophocles, is not the horror that belongs to an act of parricide and an act of incest committed unknowingly, but the horror that belongs to the portrayal of an act of psychological regression. At the moment that Oedipus silenced the voice of reality, which demanded from him at that moment a fundamental recasting of his mental attitude (typified by the fact that he met his father at the cross roads), he shut himself off from the claims of the external and social world, in adjusting to which lay the only possibility of psychic progress. The final act by which he blinded himself, in order that "self-prisoned from a world of pain" he might "find peace" as in a dungeon, was but the sequel to the moment when he dared not face the threatening figure of reality which blocked the easy road to the world of phantasy.³

With the "death of the father" and "marriage to the mother" the phantasy of power is complete. The individual has now shut himself up to the domination of those inner forces which, when unbalanced by a rightly adjusted conscious perception of external reality, produce in the mind a condition of potential insanity. We cannot say that such a man is insane, but we can say that such a man in the presence of conditions which arouse the "Oedipus complex" will become insane. In the last resort our conception of insanity must bear a definite relation to conduct. Such a conception will be correct psychologically as well as from the practical or legal standpoint. Viewed psychologically, insanity is an abnormal state of mind manifesting itself in anti-social conduct. The delusions and false beliefs by which a phantasy is supported and by which it is given a rational aspect in the mind of the insane person do not constitute insanity: but the anti-social conduct which is the issue of those delusions and which proves a person to be actuated by motives which make all normal social relationships impossible does constitute such a person insane. This anti-social conduct is fully manifested by the potentially insane person whenever any interference is offered to the enjoyment of his phantasy. The man or woman temperamentally open to the influences of the unconscious (and probably for that reason highly gifted artistically) will be innately endowed with the sense of personal power which accompanies such close psychic union with the forces of Nature; but if in the past he or she has turned away from the trouble involved in realising their powers in external form, in a way suited to the social setting, then that man or woman will be found devoting every energy they possess to the preservation of the phantasy which enables them to enjoy a spurious sense of greatness. For such persons the ordinary standards

³Since two of the "cross roads" led to Delphi, we may infer that Oedipus was actually on his way to consult the oracle (the source of occult knowledge) when he met his father.

of social life do not exist. If anyone should come in between them and the person round whom in actual life they have woven their phantasy (typified in the man's case by "the mother," though not always bearing that actual relationship), they will ruthlessly destroy the one who threatens such interference. The crime of murder is consequently closely bound up with insanity, as a potential danger arising from the hatred, unmitigated by any social inhibition, which an individual of this character experiences towards those who, as he fears, will rob him of his dream. The completed phantasy in the mind of such a person takes shape in the idea that he is God, that is, someone all-powerful and irresponsible, whilst the person who complements his phantasy becomes the Mother of God. Anyone who comes between these two must be destroyed, for God must be alone with his Mother.⁴

THE outstanding symptom of the complex, from the point of view of the relation between insanity and crime, is thus the destructive passion which flames up in the mind of a man dominated by an unconscious phantasy whenever any interference is offered to that phantasy and which does not stop even at murder. The murderous wishes are directed primarily against anyone who would force the facts of reality on the mind of the dreamer. The dreamer does not want to be disturbed or robbed of his illusion; but deep in his unconscious mind he knows the danger that confronts him. He knows, like every other human being, that the outcome of phantasy is psychic tragedy. But he is willing to sacrifice everything to continue in the enjoyment of his phantasy, so that it becomes a necessity for him to rid himself of those who would remind him of the stern laws of existence. In the story of *Œdipus* we see how before he knows that he has been guilty of the murder of Laius, his father, he lays a dire curse on the man who has slain the king. He knows that a crime has been committed in the slaying of the king (the father), but he wishes to visit this (psychological) crime on the head of someone else. Such a manifestation of of an unconscious sense of guilt is common with insane persons, who in their delusions rationalise their own shortcomings and throw on other persons, real or imaginary, the blame of their own psychological misdeeds. We see also in the history of *Œdipus* how the murderous wishes come out against the persons who threaten to unravel the mystery of the murder (Tiresius, the blind seer, and Creon, the brother of the Queen) and so bring home the deed to *Œdipus*. These murderous wishes, which we find in the man who "goes mad" under the influence of fear and hatred, are limited as regards their execution only

⁴This phantasy is well illustrated in a book, *THE LOVE OF AN UNKNOWN SOLDIER*, which purports to be the diary of a soldier in France, who had woven a phantasy about the person of an American girl whom he had met during the War. Whether the diary is genuine or not, the book is the unconscious expression of a particular state of mind (either in the diarist or the author), characterised by a mental outlook which embraces within the Universe only the person himself and the person who is the complement of his phantasy. All other relationships are non-existent, the attitude towards life in the external world being correspondingly feeble and unadjusted.

by the fact that such a man is generally a coward. With the poor orientation towards the external world which marks this temperament, a man will not dare to carry out his murderous designs unless he knows his enemy (or imaginary enemy) to be someone weaker than himself, or unless he catches him at a disadvantage. We may note that Oedipus was attacking an old man when he killed his father. An insane person will have no scruples when he is dealing with someone who is his inferior in strength.⁵

THE death wishes which mark the animation of the Oedipus complex are next directed, strangely enough, against the person who bestows the phantasy of power. Such wishes are the result of an outburst of jealousy in the mind of the mentally unbalanced person when he imagines that a third person is going to usurp his place as the single object of the affection of "the mother." This third person may not be present at the moment that the jealousy is aroused or the third person may be too strong to be safely attacked: under such circumstances the insane person, carried beyond all social bounds by the passion of jealousy welling up from the complex, will kill the object of his love, in the hope that he may maintain his relation to her in the other world safe from all fear of rivals. To the person of this temperament, with his natural orientation towards the inner psychic forces, there is little distinction between this world and the next. The dead saint or guardian angel seems but little removed from the devotee who worships her,⁶ whilst for the devotee himself there is an easy passage to the other world and the anticipated enjoyment of his phantasy by way of suicide, whether this be deliberate with the intention of joining the object of his passion or be an unconsciously self-sought death on his part, even death by execution for the crime which he has committed in order to gain his wish: death in the latter case, by an unconscious rationalisation, being in his mind both punishment for and expiation of his psychological crime of substituting an egoistic phantasy for the arduous task of social adjustment.

⁵ It is interesting in this connection to note the circumstances under which "Jerry," the boy of seven, whose history is given in Dr. Cyril Burt's book, *THE YOUNG DELINQUENT*, committed murder. The boy, we are told, was spoilt by a grandmother. The child whom he murdered was in the habit of taunting Jerry on account of his illegitimate birth. On the occasion of the murder this child was interfering with his phantasy by refusing to give up to him a toy aeroplane (an obvious symbol of power). The murdered child was the youngest of the three children who were playing together at the time of the murder.

⁶ Such an attitude of mind is well expressed by a great poet, whose own psychopathic tendencies, never altogether conquered, found vent in the manner of his death, the result, apparently, of an accident (falling from a platform underneath a train), but no doubt psychologically the outcome of the fatal attraction which trains, as the embodiment of the forces of modern life which he had never altogether dared to face, exercised over his mind: the poet, Emile Verhaeren. The lines quoted below express his feeling for a dead relative who in early life had filled the place of a mother to him. The prose translation is taken from Baudouin's study of the poet in *PSYCHOANALYSIS AND AESTHETICS*:

"She died without a sound, peacefully
Since then she has tended me as one tends a child . . .
I am fain of her all-pervading presence.
I would gladly have her yet more dead,
So that I might evoke her even more forcibly!"

As regards suicide apart from murder, there seems no doubt that as a psychological phenomenon suicide is to be regarded as a manifestation of the Oedipus complex. Again we are including under the head of suicide all self-sought forms of death, the psychological equivalent of all premature deaths, whether by illness or by the individual's own hand. Suicide may even have the form of that self-prisonment from the social world and its responsibilities which takes place through blindness (as in the case of Oedipus), or deafness, or any other form of disability which shuts the individual off from social contacts and makes him dependent on the ministrations of some devoted attendant. Suicide is not usually the result (like murder) of a sudden flaming up of the underlying complex, but is generally a deliberate act caused by the long domination of the individual's mind by a phantasy in connection with a particular person, perpetrated at the moment when the phantasy is in danger. In such cases it has a long thought-out rationalisation behind it, the argument being that the individual through his death or suffering will establish an ineradicable claim over the object of his passion, who in actual life had refused or had ceased to care for him.⁷ There are other cases of suicide which are the result of an attachment formed between two persons, an attachment which might have run on true sexual lines, but which, owing to a lack of courage on both sides, is transformed in each case into a phantasy, finding fulfilment in the self-sought death of the man or the woman or both. The rationalisation here is the idea of the transformation of an earthly into a spiritual passion, which can be satisfied when one (or both) of the individuals is removed into the other world. The satisfaction of passion in this way obviously makes none of the demands on either individual that the mutual adjustments of an ordinary sex attachment would imply and is therefore psychologically retrogressive.⁸

⁷This point is well illustrated in the book quoted above, *THE LOVE OF AN UNKNOWN SOLDIER*. In one passage the writer longs to commit suicide, conceiving it as an heroic act which will forcibly wrest the attention of the one for whom he wishes to sacrifice himself. The recent suicide of a young man in the presence of a well-known actress who had refused his attentions may be interpreted in the same way.

⁸There is a telling example of this situation in the episode which terminates *THE COSMOPOLITAN*, a novel by May Sinclair. (From a psychological point of view we may always take the characters of a novel or drama as projections of the writer's own attitude towards life and to that extent representative also of the mental outlook of the writer's class and generation). In this story the heroine, Miss Tancred, has consistently rejected her lover's advances, desiring a personal freedom which appeared to her at variance with the more difficult adjustments of love and marriage. Finally she travels to India, where by an act of "heroic self-sacrifice" she dies from the effect of plague contracted while nursing one of her coolies. On this it may be remarked that the nursing of a coolie demands no intimate social adjustment such as marriage with one of her own class would have implied, whilst the "heroic" death was an easy path out of the difficulties of life for one of her temperament. But even more striking is the description of her lover's reception of the news: we are told "It was not grief he felt but a strange exultant joy. The world would have no more of her. She was his, in some inviolable, irrevocable way. He knew. He understood her now, clearly and completely. His joy deepened to a passionless, spiritual content; as if in the fulness of his knowledge he had embraced the immortal part of her." No doubt the phantasy was reciprocal.

As regards, further, the relation between the sexes, we may say that immediately the sex relationship moves off those lines of mutual stimulus and challenge which mark its instinctive aspect and becomes an effortless attainment of power it assumes the character of phantasy. In such a case the external sex relationship serves merely as a disguise. The man is still bound to the mother image, now transferred to his lover or wife. He is still a child in the arms of the Madonna, worshipped by her as God. The woman's side of the phantasy forms the obverse of the man's. In her (completed) phantasy she is the Mother of God: a God who takes the form, primarily, of a child or young man, but who in actual life may be represented by her lover or husband.⁹ In reality she worships the reproductive principle of life under the form of the Divine Child dependent on her ministrations; whilst in the background of the picture hovers the figure of God Almighty, the father image, from whom she derives her power. Directly in contact, as she feels herself to be, with this embodiment of the creative force of Nature, there are times when she identifies herself with God, the Ruler of the Universe, just as there are times when the man, in his phantasy, identifies himself with the Mother of God.¹⁰ A woman possessed of such a sense of power, which, in reality, as in the case of the man, comes from her own close contact with the forces of the subconscious, will brook no interference with her phantasy. Again, the impulse towards murder is a symptom of the complex. The chief danger in this case lies in the jealousy aroused in the woman's mind when she perceives the man who has worshipped her transferring his worship to another "mother image." This may happen when a second woman offers the man more prospect of the satisfaction of his phantasy than the first, or it may happen when a man veers back from a new and arresting image to an earlier object of his worship. When

⁹ In cases of this type it is common for the woman to speak to or of her husband in endearing terms suggestive of a child. If, later, she has a child of her own, she may transfer her phantasy from her husband to her son. The husband may then either become jealous of his son; or he may identify himself with his son as a re-incarnation of his phantasy of himself as the Divine Child in the arms of the mother. In the latter case nothing in his mind is too good for the child.

¹⁰ This identification is made easy in either case by the tendency in a man or woman of this kind of temperament to take an atypical attitude towards the external world: that is, the man naturally has the emotional and aesthetic orientation which is normally typical of the woman, whilst the woman has the dominating and self-assertive attitude which is typical of the man. We may note in this connection that Sophocles, who projected his own personality into the character of Oedipus, a man developed to a psychopathic degree on the emotional side, was also the creator of the character of Antigone, thus realising himself through the dominating personality of a woman. For a poet of the temperament of Sophocles it was as easy to project himself into the character of a woman as of a man, but both are atypical.

A modern identification of a man with the Mother of God may be suspected in the case of the somewhat spectacular cleric recently convicted of selling harmful medicines to women. This man (whose natural orientation may be inferred from the pictures of him in his sacerdotal robes) traded under the names of two (imaginary) women doctors, whose Christian names were Hannah and Mary: respectively the Mother of the Prophet and the Mother of God.

there is such competition of forces striving for domination over a man's mind, the stronger force will win, which, translated into terms of external reality, is equivalent to saying that the woman with the stronger personality, or the woman who presents the more complete mother image, will finally exercise dominion and draw the man to her with fatal attraction. The danger of murder arises out of the failure of the weaker woman to maintain her sway over the mind of her lover, the act of murder (often followed by suicide) being her final attempt to keep the man bound to her for ever.

A GOOD example of this situation in literature is to be found in *THE TEMPTER*, a tragedy by Henry Arthur Jones (produced in 1893). In this play the mind of the Prince (the hero of the story) has been tied to the image of the Lady Avis since he was twelve years old, when they were betrothed by their parents. Parted from her since that age, he comes from France, when grown to manhood, to seek her as his bride, his love being fed by a picture that he has received of her.¹¹ Arriving in England, he meets Isobel, the cousin of Avis, and makes love to her, overwhelmed by her beauty. She returns his love with protestations of passion so intense in response to his desire that at once she asserts her power over him. For a time the Prince remains satisfied with his phantasy centred in Isobel. A deep attraction unites them, which might have persisted, but for the fatal fear and jealousy bound up with so exclusive a love on both sides. Not having the courage to dare the situation that they have made, with implicit trust in one another, each begins to suspect the other of unfaithfulness. The image of Avis is always between them, lending a sense of guilt to their attachment, the guilt which psychologically belonged to the exclusive (that is, phantasy) nature of their love, transferred by them to the outward situation and finding vent in mutual suspicion and distrust. Finally Isobel calls on the Prince to own her publicly. But in the mind of the Prince jealousy and suspicion of Isobel have re-awakened the image of Avis and he turns away from her entreaties. Whereupon Isobel stabs him and then in front of Avis claims him as her own: "Mine by the murder that I did on him." Borne dying to Canterbury Cathedral, the Prince's cry is for "God's Mother! Hear! My soul will not depart till she is cleansed." He thus returns at last to the earliest image of all, the image of the mother who tended him as a child. But Isobel, not to be thwarted, stabs herself that she may not be parted from him and, soothing him like a child, passes with him into the other world. She had regained her domination over the

¹¹ . . . "when her picture came to show
How sweet and fair my playmate wife had grown,
My childhood's love came rushing back, and I
Took my most solemn vow to be her knight.
Her stainless knight, pure, consecrate to her
Alone . . ."

Clearly a "mother-image."

Prince's mind, because he knew, for the satisfaction of his phantasy, how much she must have loved him to kill him.¹²

THE complex which we have been considering, in which a phantasy of power, a constant tendency to jealousy and suspicion and the harbouring of murderous impulses form associated symptoms, is also marked by another symptom which is important from the psychological point of view: the manifestation of the over-excited mind in obscene language. How closely bound up this symptom is in the texture of the complex is shewn by the fact that the filthy language is directed against anyone who would interfere with the insane person's phantasy by reminding him of the facts of reality (the father) and also (more particularly) against the person who is the centre of the phantasy (the mother). The language is the protest of some unacknowledged part of the psyche against the illicit subjugation of the individual's mind by the forces of the sub-conscious. A very common example of such language is the epithet of "whoremonger" or some equivalent term applied to the mother (or wife). Such an epithet expresses exactly the obscure, unacknowledged consciousness in the mind of the individual of an illicit intercourse with a dominating force: the repressed consciousness of the rational human being, betrayed alone by this primitive language issuing out of the very fabric of the Oedipus complex. The man is protesting against his own subjugation by the unseen forces operating from the lowest psychological level, but, not having the courage to face these forces in himself, he charges the illicit domination to the woman in whom his phantasy of power has been centred in the past. He accuses her as responsible for the tragedy which has arisen out of the weakness of his own character, whilst if a sudden illumination should reach him showing the psychic ruin into which he has fallen, he would (like Oedipus) kill the woman to free his own conscience of the burden.¹³ Such a mental attitude necessarily corresponds with a total abrogation of all normal social feeling. It is therefore psychologically a mark of insanity. A man animated by such passions is lost to all sense of honour, generosity or

¹² Examples of the same situation handled in different ways may be found in two plays recently staged in London, *THE LETTER* and *THE HIGH ROAD*. In *THE LETTER* the woman kills her lover who has forsaken her for a woman who supplies a more complete mother-image (the Chinese woman of the play). In *THE HIGH ROAD* the tragedy is not overt but psychic. A man already bound to a mother-image forms a passionate attachment to a woman who returns his love. Although not bound to the first woman morally, he cannot, at the crucial moment, break free from her influence over him. The woman who loves him renounces her claim, because she knows truly that the image of the first woman would always have come between them. This she is able to do, partly because she herself has father-images in her life which give her partial satisfaction (just as Avis in *THE TEMPTER* is able finally to give up the Prince to Isobel because she finds consolation in her relationship with Father Urban, her religious adviser); partly because in her work and her art she has a means of satisfaction apart altogether from phantasy.

¹³ When Oedipus at the end of the tragic history (in the play of SOPHOCLES) learns the truth of his own parentage and marriage, he rushes into the palace to kill Jocasta, but finds that she has already hung herself.

human kindliness in relation to those who are connected with the threatened phantasy.

APART from the temperament which in any individual affords a predisposition towards psychological severance from the external world and towards an exclusive relationship with the internal psychic forces, we must formulate certain other conditions before we have a psychological conception of insanity which is logical and complete. In every human being the Oedipus complex is present as a potentiality and may be partially awakened whenever in moments of weakness an individual falls back on phantasy as a substitute for reality. But as regards most of us it would be impossible for that complex to dominate our minds to the exclusion of all social consciousness. The difference is not merely one of temperament but of the extent of the hold that the outer world has on the individual. Although a person may be temperamentally "orientated towards the sub-conscious," with a corresponding poorness of contact with the external world, yet if his environment has been such that he has forged some links of a social nature with the persons who surround him, it is impossible that in a moment of passion he will be quite swept from his bearings as a human being with social responsibilities. We have seen the importance from this point of view of the character of the father in determining the son's view of reality. If a man has had the facts of reality and of his own responsibility in life presented to him in a painful way through the harsh character of the father, he will not easily attain that spirit of adjustment which is necessary for a social existence, but will be animated instead by a generalised feeling of bitterness towards society. The development of social responsibility in the individual will also depend partly on the presence in his immediate environment of persons (such as younger brothers and sisters) who call out his protective feeling and give him for their sakes some kind of ideal of conduct. In the case of a woman, the danger of phantasy seems to be lessened if she has a daughter to give her a sense of reality, as well as a son who may become the centre of her phantasy. The nature of the environment thus proves to be an important factor in the conditioning of insanity, in so far as it provides or fails to provide the natural links which attach a man (or woman) in an inevitable way to the external social world. It is a factor of importance, also, as regards the provision of someone in the individual's immediate surroundings who will form the centre of his phantasy. Unless there is someone in the environment who will respond to a man's call and will promise him:

"Wherever thou shalt beckon me,
I'll come! Whatever thou dost bid, I'll do!
Whatever thou dost ask, I'll give, be it
My life, my soul! Whate'er thou art, I'll be!
Where'er thy fate shall trend, my steps lie there,
To sunny isles and never-waning summer,
Deep bays of bliss or heights of unknown joy;
Or over that dark verge precipitous
Where the lost grope and rage, thy path is mine."

as Isobel is willing to do in the play quoted above (*THE TEMPTER*), the man's phantasy will have no embodiment and will not therefore exercise the same power over his mind. The person who thus ministers to the phantasy, by assuring to the individual the sense of power and security which comes to him from her exclusive love, must of course be someone who seeks power for herself through her sense of the man's entire dependence on her (" Mine by the undying love I bear to him ") and must, therefore, be the type of person who finds a similar satisfaction in phantasy. Such a person, if not provided by the immediate environment, is perhaps not difficult for him to find, should his tendency to phantasy have already been developed, since like attracts to like most surely in the world of psychic forces : but all the more important for the individual was the early environment, from which was provided the *original image* (probably in the shape of a mother of similar temperament who spoilt the child and gave him an undue sense of power) on which he could form the counterpart image for the phantasy of later life. Apart from this person who formed the original complement of his phantasy, it is probable that the more dangerous type of phantasy, which we must connect with a sex relationship, would never have been evolved.¹⁴

ANOTHER important factor in the conditioning of insanity is the physical and mental endowment of the individual. We have seen that a state of insanity implies an acutely anti-social attitude on the part of the insane person. Such an attitude would be impossible apart from a sense of inferiority. A poor physical endowment makes a man feel inferior to his fellows, with whom he is unable to compete, as well as making life more difficult for the man himself. At the same time an individual of the type we are considering has that innate sense of power which belongs to his particular temperament. He therefore tends to find compensation for his sense of inferiority in an exaggerated phantasy of power. In his imagination he will be lord of the world, dominating those to whom in real life he feels inferior. Apart from such particular disability (lameness, poor eyesight or defective hearing) as may serve to rob a man of the self-confidence necessary for a satisfactory social adjustment, we may also surmise that a low state of nervous vitality

¹⁴As regards the development of phantasy in a woman, it seems probable that a woman always first fabricates her phantasy in relation to her father (or father substitute), who embodies for her the forces of the sub-conscious and from whom she derives her sense of power. Towards her father she will have, at the same time, a tender protective feeling. This maternal feeling, passionately exclusive in nature, as regards the giving and demanding of love, she will afterwards transfer to the sex object. With further knowledge from external evidence and study of the psychological situation as expressed in literature and drama it should be quite possible to work out the crime possibilities of the father-daughter phantasy. The danger of the situation as regards the father seems to lie in the fact that he has played the part of God to his daughter and (under certain circumstances) will not bear to be dethroned; and as regards the daughter in the fact that she has gained a sense of power which she will inevitably preserve and foster in the sex relationships of later life.

is the usual, if not the universal, accompaniment of insanity. We know that it is far harder for the person with an easily exhausted nervous system to battle against the stern realities of life than the person endowed with a good stock of nervous energy. The first person, therefore, will be much more likely to give up in the face of difficulty and to take refuge in phantasy. His poor nervous vitality makes him constitutionally lazy, so that he resents the difficulties of life, instead of obtaining confidence by overcoming them. The habit of mind in this case is exceedingly important, since when such an individual is called upon to face the *extra external responsibility* or the *extra physical disability* which is the *exciting cause* of any mental breakdown, he reacts to the new situation in a way that corresponds to his manner of psychic adjustment in the past. As regards mental endowment we may surmise again a constant correlation between poverty of mental equipment and a state of insanity. The insane person may be intellectually acute (in some cases, like the Scholastic of the Middle Ages, he seems to be able to prove anything from anything), or, as is more usual, his intellectual endowment may be poor in certain respects. But in all cases the insane person is defective in the power of idealising. In all his thinking he has himself and his own advantage as the centre. He cannot raise his thoughts on to the ideal or social level. We may say that his brain is defective as far as the power of ideal thinking is concerned. This "mental deficiency" is one of the most important features in the picture of insanity, since a man who has no power of forming an ideal will have no stimulus to his pride to enable him to live up to a social level when the external necessity is lacking.

THE conditions of insanity which we have so far considered are the inborn temperament which orientates a man towards the inner world rather than the outer world; the environment which serves to increase this tendency by reinforcing the phantasy side of his nature and by alienating him from reality; the poor physical endowment which gives him a feeble outlook on life and a feeling of inferiority to his fellows; and the defective mentality which prevents him from perceiving the necessity of raising his egoistic impulses on to a social level if he is to have any success in the world of reality. Probably in every case of insanity all these factors are at work, but with varying relative force in each case. The point which remains to be considered is whether a further condition is necessary to a state of insanity, namely, an inborn or inherited tendency to a dissociation of personality, which, taking place under the influence of an emotional strain, results in a cleavage between the side of the personality which is adjusted to the external world and the side which is occupied with the repressed desires of the phantasy life. This question is ultimately one for the neurological expert. From the psychological point of view it does not seem to be necessary to surmise a definite, inherited tendency to dissociation.

Given the particular type of "psychic" temperament and an environment which has furnished insufficient social links to counteract the temperament; given the feeling of physical weakness and inferiority which makes a man unfriendly to other men and a lack of power of idealising to counteract the unfriendly attitude: it seems as if a man is bound in self-protection to fall back on phantasy and to use any and every means to preserve that phantasy. All that is needed for such a man to step over the boundary is the sudden exciting cause of fear, producing a state of temporary insanity, or the strain which wears down a naturally feeble power of adjustment and at the breaking point drives the man into permanent retirement in the already prepared refuge of his phantasy.¹⁸

As regards the question of delusions, it is again unimportant from the psychological point of view to decide whether delusional insanity is a matter of definite inborn tendency or the result merely of the reaction of individual temperament and experience. The deluded person, from our point of view, has simply lost the power of distinguishing between the inner and the outer world, so that the material of his phantasy has become as "real" to him as the facts of the outside world. This might be due (apart from any question of a physical basis) to the relatively greater *temperamental* hold which the inner world has on the mind of the deluded person than on the minds of persons suffering from other forms of insanity or it might be due to a *habit* of projecting the phantasy material into the outer world gained through a relatively greater social isolation. In either case the psychological importance of the delusion is that it serves as a rationalisation whereby the insane person is able to justify himself for continuing in his psychic seclusion.

With a clear conception of the mental attitude, both inner and outer, which gives the potential condition of insanity and a definite idea of the form of expression which this mental attitude is bound to take when the individual is brought into conflict with the facts of reality, it should not be an impossible task to diagnose insanity in its incipient stages and so to prevent, in any particular case, the symptoms from finding their full issue in dangerously anti-social behaviour. Nor should it be impossible, in a case of crime, to discover by investigation of the criminal's previous history and of the circumstances of the crime whether that crime were the result of a fit of insanity. If, however, we are to be in a position to deal with the menace to society which is implied by the existence at large of persons mentally diseased, it is necessary that there should be effective co-operation between all those who are concerned with the mental, physical and social health of the nation. The workers in the different health services must first be able

¹⁸ From this "other world" of his psychic life, he can continue to exert an inexorable pull over the object of his phantasy, in imagination, at least, if not in reality.

to recognise the symptoms of mental disease and foretell its danger ; they must also have the necessary facilities for notifying such cases to centres where treatment can be given at a time when treatment would be more successful and less prolonged than at a later stage of the illness. Before such a co-ordinated system of diagnosis and early treatment could be established, some modification would doubtless have to be made in the present law of the certification of insanity.

A CLEAR psychological conception of insanity also makes possible the working out of a rational system of psycho-therapy. Such a system, if founded on general psychological principles, would be applicable to all cases, quite apart from the fact whether or not the patient was able to co-operate in the treatment himself. It is obvious that many insane persons are quite incapable of intelligent co-operation in any form of treatment, their resistances being too violent (apart from any other obstacles in the way of intelligence) to be met by rational explanation. A system of psycho-therapy must therefore depend primarily on the suggestion force of the personality of the psycho-therapist, such suggestion being applied on definite psychological principles corresponding with the psychological conception of insanity. We have seen that insanity as a mental state implies a love of power and a hatred of reality. This fact of the absolute cleavage between the two mental attitudes is to be explained by the opposite and conflicting suggestions which the individual has received in childhood from the mother and the father (or persons representing them). The suggestion force of the psycho-therapist must therefore be first of all directed towards undoing the psychological effects of these early suggestions and of similar suggestions received in later life. He must treat the patient as if he were once more a child and must create in his mind a new mother-image and a new father-image. He (or she) must first win the patient by the sympathy and understanding of "the mother," and then present to the patient a true mother-image, the image of the one who inspires the child to courage and heroism, because she believes in him and thinks him capable of fine and heroic conduct. Next, he (or she) must present a new father-image, an image which shows reality in a new and attractive form, because it is presented by someone whom the patient can admire as an image of strength and power and who yet is favourable and friendly to him. Such suggestions will all tend to the same end : the production of a new state of mind in the patient, a state of mind assimilated to that of the person he admires, so that he becomes ashamed of the phantasy of power and in love with reality. These suggestions, representing both parents, can, of course, be given by the same person.¹⁴ The whole force of the suggestion lies in the

¹⁴Although it may be roughly true that a man has more suggestion power with a woman and a woman with a man, because they exercise respectively the suggestion power of the father and mother, yet what counts far more than sex in the matter of psycho-therapy is the nature of the suggestion force of the individual personality.

fact that the psycho-therapist stands, in his own person, for the attitude that he suggests. He must, therefore, be one who himself has gained a sense of power by facing the facts of reality, who has looked difficulties in the face without resentment or complaining and has gained his confidence by overcoming them, and who, moreover, presents reality in an attractive form, because, firm in his self-confidence, he can enjoy life himself and is free enough from conflict to help other people. The patient, through the force of suggestion contained in the new parent (father and mother)-image, unconsciously adopts an attitude which precludes phantasy and accepts reality. Under the influence of the new affective tie he becomes reconciled to life in the outer world and to that extent relaxes his anti-social attitude. But the psycho-therapist has a further power, for he can directly suggest a more social attitude to the patient by showing a friendly attitude to others in his presence. The patient, who is apt to look with a contemptuous and hostile eye on all those who are (as he thinks) inferior to himself, will imperceptibly gain a new attitude as he receives the emotional suggestion which comes from the universally friendly and social feeling of the psycho-therapist.

WHILST the personal factor supplies the most important influence in any attempt to raise the psychic level of the insane person's attitude towards life, there are other curative methods which may be useful in helping to remove the underlying sense of inferiority. Before it is possible for a man to become insane, he must have lost confidence entirely in himself and in his power to win success by achievement in the outer world. Although he tends to compensate for this failure by a phantasy of exaggerated greatness, yet in his mind the sense of inferiority rankles below and emphasises the anti-social attitude. To teach him some art or trade, therefore, which implies the mastering of a technique with the self-discipline which this entails, may help to restore his confidence in himself, whilst giving him at the same time an increased hold on the external world. If the patient learns to practise a new art, he gains an opportunity to embody those intuitions from the unconscious which hitherto have only found expression in the phantasies of the dream life. By learning a useful trade he gains both increased self-confidence and confidence for facing the social world and its demands.¹⁷

SUCH a system of psycho-therapy as has been tentatively sketched out, based on presenting a positive influence in the place of the negative influences which have played hitherto on the mind of the patient and on presenting that positive influence at the exact points where it is

¹⁷ An interesting case was reported recently in the newspapers of a man of the middle class who had been sentenced to a long term of imprisonment for financial fraud and who was gradually decreasing the length of his sentence by his good conduct in prison. Whilst a prisoner he had learned the trade of a compositor.

needed, will apply to the insane criminal just as much as to any other insane person. In criminality we see, from the psychological standpoint, a relatively stronger anti-social tendency at work, fostered by a relatively worse environment and by a relatively greater sense of inferiority, than in other cases. The treatment will have the same aim in this as in other forms of insanity: to stimulate into activity, by the creative power of personal suggestion, the higher psychic forces lying dormant in the mind of the insane person, which, when aroused and set in motion, will change his whole attitude towards himself and towards life. The object of psycho-therapy is to free the psyche, that it may work as an entirety, in harmony and unity with itself. From the moment that the psychic forces, in any individual, begin to work on the higher, social level, the lower emotional elements will sink into inactivity and will gradually fall into abeyance. There may, in fact, be cases in which the old attitude of self-indulgence in phantasy has become too set for change or in which the ravages of disease have wrought destruction in the brain which cannot be repaired. Yet who shall say when the insane person has reached that point at which he cannot be cured: who shall say when it is no longer possible in any given case to touch the hidden spark of psychic life or to rouse those health-giving emotions which will flood the organism with vitality and enable it to throw off the poison which was attacking the mind through the body? Even the fact that a patient feels in the depths of his mind that someone believes in him and consistently expects of him a higher, or more social and human, adjustment to his environment, may in the end result, though the case seem hopeless, in an attempt on his part to justify that belief.

INSANITY in each age is but a reflection in exaggerated or distorted form of the universal human conflict, the struggle between the attitude of the rational human being, desiring to live on a level corresponding with the level which human intelligence in his age has reached, and the attitude of the ease-loving human being, longing to sink back to a lower emotional level of existence, which does not give the individual the trouble of living up to his own thought or the intelligence of his generation. As regards intelligence our own age is pre-eminently a scientific age and should be governed by scientific ideas: yet there are many persons who still cling to the old ideas, who worship a paternal or maternal deity and who desire a psychic dependance below the level of the attitude demanded by that scientific knowledge of ourselves and the universe to which our age has attained. The conflict between the repressed rational and independent attitude and the conscious emotional and submissive attitude in our generation is evidenced by many cases of nervous breakdown and other physical and mental symptoms which show the unhappiness of the psyche. Yet such persons endeavour to continue the struggle and to work out in active life some solution of

their mental problem. But in the case of insane persons we see those who have given up the struggle, who have taken a retrogressive method of solving their problems and who rely for their psychic certainty on a phantasy of personal greatness and on the strength of imaginary protectors.¹⁸ They have ceased to make any contribution of positive value to their own world or generation. The only thing that can be said for them is that at the stage of psychic evolution which they, as human souls, have reached, it may have been necessary for them to withdraw themselves into a state of psychic seclusion, in which their problems could be worked out in the depths of the unconscious psyche. No doubt such persons suffer in their loneliness and mental isolation. It is possible that in their suffering they are working out a psychic "modus vivendi," the results of which cannot be measured on the surface but which will be registered in the next stage of their psychic evolution.

ALICE RAVEN.

¹⁸ Failing any other powerful protector, I have known a woman to fall back on the superintendent of Guinness' Buildings (where she had lived)!

REGIONAL PLANNING.

WHAT is regional planning? Obviously regional planning is the planning of a region, and the best way to explain it is to give a few examples. Take a very simple illustration—where the region consists of just one kind of country. Suppose it is forest country. Foresters often make what they call a “forest working plan” for a tract of timber. The tract may be one of a hundred acres or of a hundred thousand acres—or an even greater area. There is the Darrington area out in the State of Washington, lying between the Cascade Mountain Range and Puget Sound: it is about the size of Rhode Island and four-fifths of it lies within the U.S. National Forests. A forest working plan has been made for this region.

THIS plan divides the region into four so-called “working units.” Each working unit occupies a separate valley. Take the unit lying in the valley of the Sauk River. This occupies about 310,000 acres, but only 90,000 acres support a stand of merchantable timber—the rest being mountain barrens and ice caps, or else consisting of narrow agricultural belts along the river courses. So the bulk of this little region’s usable acreage consists of timber land. This the plan divides into six “cutting blocks,” each block to be cut over within a ten-year period and the logs hauled to a central sawmill at Darrington. After the last block has been cut over the first block is ready to be cut over again. There are of course many details to this “forest working plan.” The plan shows (or attempts to show) how to develop the forest so as to get the most good out of it; and since the region in this case consists almost wholly of forest land the plan for the forest amounts to a plan for the region. It really shows (or attempts to show) how to develop the *region* so as to get the most out of it.

IN contrast with this mountainous forest country take the flat agricultural region of Archangelskoe County in the Russian North Caucasus State. This County, 30 miles long and eight miles wide, lies in the great European wheat belt. An “agricultural working plan” has been made for this County, and this is being carried out, under a government concession, by an American corporation (The Russian Reconstruction Farms, Inc.). Under this plan 38 per cent. of the land is being devoted to growing wheat, 28 per cent. to feed crops, and 31 per cent. to pasture. The whole County is divided into units of 60,000 acres each. In each unit it is estimated that the wheat grown will make 13,273,000 pounds of flour; that the hay, fodder and feed grain will yield 8,275,000 pounds of milk, 500,000 pounds of cattle on the hoof ready for slaughter, and so many pounds of sheep, hogs, poultry and eggs; the eight million odd pounds of milk in turn will yield so many pounds of butter, cheese, &c., and the 500,000 pounds of live cattle will yield

so many pounds of fresh meat, "other edible products," &c., &c. In short the region has been surveyed for its agricultural resources and a plan made for attaining a steady yield or "flow" of agricultural products of certain desirable kinds and in certain required ratios. Since the region in this case consists wholly of agricultural land this plan for developing the region's agriculture amounts in the rough to a plan for developing the *region* itself. Another instance, therefore, of a "regional plan."

AGAIN, take the plan of the New England Power Company for developing the waterpower of the Deerfield River (in Vermont and Massachusetts). This plan provides for the complete harnessing of the River from sources to mouth. Thus far two giant storage reservoirs have been made—the Somerset and the Whitingham—in the upper valley in Vermont. Six power plants have been constructed on various portions of the stream from the Searsburg Plant under Haystack Mountain to "Plant Number Two" below Shelburne Falls. By means of these structures (each planned in view of its relation to the others and to the running of the stream) the flow of water between the banks is being converted into a "flow" of electric fluid for distribution throughout the adjacent territory. Like each of the preceding illustrations this plan deals with one resource only—in this case the power resource (not the forest resource nor the agricultural). But unlike the preceding illustrations the region in this case (the Deerfield River Valley) is *not dominated* by a single resource: Waterpower is only one of the region's assets. It has timber as well, and pasture lands. A forest plan and an agricultural plan would also be needed in any attempt to show how to develop the region so as to get the most out of it. It would take a combination of these to make a complete regional plan for the Deerfield River Valley.

It will be noticed that each one of these plans deals with a "flow"—of one kind or another. The Deerfield waterpower plan provides for converting a region's water flow into a flow of electric fluid; the Darrington forest plan provides for converting a region's timber assets into a steady flow of lumber from year to year and for all time; the Caucasus agricultural plan provides for converting a region's soil resources into a series of flows—a flow of wheat, of beef, of dairy produce, and of various other soil products. A real plan deals with a "flow"—a moving force of some kind. That is what distinguishes a plan from a description. A so-called "plan" may be a mere description of something pleasant which we should like to have—an ideal community or a parkway or a town forest. But unless this plan takes account of all the forces (natural and economic) which are working on such community or parkway or forest then it is not a real plan—that is, it is not a part of Nature's plan. A real plan is a discovery and not an

invention. The civil engineer does not "invent" the best railway grade across a mountain range, he "discovers" it: and his plan becomes a part of the plan of Nature's forces. The main forces with which the regional planner has to deal are usually evident in some form of "flow" upon the surface of the earth.

THE most important force with which the regional planner has to deal is evident in the so-called "flow of population":—the flow of population and of the attendant development of industrial plant and housing facilities. There have been four main flows, or migrations, of the American population. The first migration was led by the Covered Wagon: this may be called the *outflow* of the white race across the American continent. The second migration was led by the "Iron Horse." This amounted to a *reflow* of the population across the continent resulting in the spinning of the railway net throughout the land and the installation of the little factory town. The third migration was lured by the city "Sky Scraper": this was (and is) an *inflow* of little streams of rural population inward toward the urban and metropolitan centres. The fourth migration is right now getting underway: it is not led nor lured by anything at all; instead it is being forced and driven by the brute fact of congestion at the metropolitan centre; it is a *backflow* of metropolitan population and development pushing back from the big centres along the main highways. The relation of the inflow and backflow of population is like that of the inflow of streams of water against a mill dam and the consequent backflow of the water in the mill pond—back from the dam along the main valley. Congestion in the metropolitan centre forms a "dam" against which a stream of metropolitan development is gradually "backing up" and extending along our country waysides, lining them with a scheme of desolation of which the billboard is only the forerunner. It is the handling of this fourth migration, the control of the "backflow," which forms the immediate urgent problem before the American regional planner.

THE tendency of this backflow of population is to form itself into a mould of "metropolitanism"—a bedlam of sky scrapers, smoke stacks, gas tanks, factories, tenements and clothes lines—tapering off along the suburban highways in cheap blocks, apartment houses, bungalows, hot dog stands, and billboards. But there is no need of this bedlam. The modern metropolis is not so much a big city as it is an uncontrolled city. The real city is a symmetric unit of society: to some extent at least it has been planned. Take Old Boston and Old Salem. The ingredients of the real city and of the metropolis are the same—factories, stores, living quarters, et al. So are the ingredients of a salad and of a garbage pile the same. The ingredients in one case are assembled while in the other case they are "chucked together." The

various parts of the true city are assembled in accordance with some idea : while the parts of the metropolis are merely chucked together. There is no need of this " chucking " process : under proper regulation the parts can be assembled. That is the function of planning.

THIS uniformity of metropolitan chaos is not limited to the legal boundaries of the big city : it sprawls into the suburban outskirts and even beyond these : it forms indeed (or tends to form) a continuous metropolitan " roadtown " from one city to the next so that the traveller is never free from its incessant and standardised pattern. (Drive from New York to New Haven or from Boston to Worcester). The population of the country need not be domiciled in such a pattern : instead it could be grouped in centres and real communities—the population could and should be distributed in units—not massings—of humanity.

It is, therefore, a backflow of metropolitanism rather than of population that the regional planner has to cope with. The true city is the first victim of the metropolitan flood. And the outstanding problem of the regional planner, as already said, is the control of this " flood." The task of controlling such a flood has a certain limited resemblance to that of controlling the flood or flow of water within a river system. Take the Connecticut River system.

A SERIES of storage reservoirs is being considered at the headwaters of the various tributaries of the Connecticut River. These would hold in check all ordinary flood waves by pooling the surplus waters in many little " puddles," so to speak, which could gradually be drained away. If these reservoirs were not sufficient to hold the entire flood wave then levees or high banks could be erected along the lower reaches of the river in order to hold the extra waters within the channel of the main stream. This probably would never be necessary on the Connecticut River (i.e., if there were enough reservoirs upstream) though probably it would be necessary on the Lower Mississippi even with storage reservoirs at the headwaters.

THIS double scheme (of levees and reservoirs) for controlling the flow of *waters* within a river system may be copied to some extent in the problem of controlling the backflow of population and of *metropolitanism*. Take this same valley of the Connecticut River (from Long Island Sound to the Canadian Line). The metropolitan backflow is working up the valley northward from Hartford—the ultimate push coming from New Haven and finally from New York. It is as if the waters of the Connecticut River instead of disappearing in Long Island Sound and the Atlantic Ocean, were dammed up as soon as they reached the river's mouth and came pushing back up along the valley. What should we do then ? Well, we would guide the waters

as best we could into little pools and reservoirs in order to prevent the country from being flooded and all messed up; and we would also, wherever it might be necessary, erect levees along strategic lines in order to hold the waters from crossing from one valley into another.

Thus would we do with a *backflow of waters*. And something like this can we do with a *backflow of metropolitanism*. The backflow of water would amount to a flood invasion of the country; the other kind of backflow amounts to a "metropolitan invasion." This "invasion" is not only the main urgent problem of regional planning. It is one of the big problems before our whole civilisation. There are two main lines of strategy in coping with this metropolitan invasion: one corresponds to the pooling of the waters and the other to the erection of levees.

AN illustration of this first line of strategy—that of pooling the flow of population—is the attempt to revive and replan the old New England town. This movement is akin to the Garden City movement—the idea in each instance is to have a separate independent town surrounded by a substantial belt of open country. But the planned (or re-planned) community instead of being established *de novo*, as with the typical Garden City, is built upon the foundations of its rich colonial setting and background. It is not a creation of something new but the further development of something already here. The main problem in this development lies in defending it from the ravages of the metropolitan invasion. This invasion, in the country regions of Massachusetts and New England, takes the form already described—what Walter Pritchard Eaton calls the "motor slum." This is a slum of commerce and not of poverty—and the billboard and the dog stand form merely its epidermis. Plans for limiting and controlling this slum can be carried out, in Massachusetts, under the provisions of the various town zoning laws:—that is, a community plan can be made for keeping the town intact and preventing a flooding over into the usual suburban sprawlings. Under these laws a plan can be made for each locality whereby the "backflow" from its larger centres can be properly "pooled" and controlled so that the small town shall remain and develop as a separate unit.

AN illustration of the second line of strategy—that of erecting "levees" to control the flood of population—is at hand in the movement for the establishment of Open Spaces (State Forests and Parks, Town Forests, Bird Sanctuaries, and the like). These natural barriers to the flow of population follow roughly the barriers to the flow of the waters: they are the "levees"—they consist of the mountain ranges and crestlines, the upland divides between river systems, or of open lanes of wild lands between the various towns. These crestlines and zones of unsettled country (or of the less settled country) form the main strongholds

which now remain for the development of the primeval environment—or if not “primeval” then near-primeval, or pastoral. To preserve or develop this environment these zones must of course be protected from the penetration of the metropolitan environment. For the two are fundamentally incompatible.

To return to the Connecticut River Valley: the great backflow of population and metropolitanism advancing northward from Hartford (with its push from New Haven and New York) must not only be pooled in the ways which we have mentioned—it must be held in check through a more fundamental basis of control.

SUCH control consists in nothing less than a framework of “levees” as potent and outstanding as the framework itself of the advancing metropolitan “streams.” The basis of this framework of levees, in the Connecticut River valley, lies in the system of mountain crestlines which embraces the valley on both sides (on the West the Berkshire-Green Mountain Range, and on the East the Foothills leading southward from the White Mountains). Minor ranges or divides leading toward the River from the outer major crestlines complete the primeval framework. On this framework there can be placed (and there is being placed) a series of public Open Spaces connected by a system of walking paths and camping places. But to make this framework truly potent, to make the levees stand forth as substantial barriers against the metropolitan flood, the Open Spaces must be made to form the seat for developing the opposite environment from the metropolitan. Special means must be taken to develop the primeval environment and the contagion of the outdoor life if a real antidote is to be forthcoming to the spreading infection of metropolitanism. Illustrations of regional plans to develop this primeval setting are at hand in the various schemes for establishing mountain parks and trails. The most comprehensive of these is the project for an Appalachian Trail (a mountain path from Maine to Georgia).

A REGIONAL plan, if it is really a plan and not a description, deals not only with a region but with a force or “flow” taking place in that region. This flow may consist of water flow or it may consist of “commodity flow”—of electric fluid, of lumber, of wheat, of beef, or dairy produce. Such a plan we call an industrial plan because it deals with some industrial activity—the flow of some product required as a means of human sustenance. The flow dealt with may also consist, as we have seen, of the flow of population, or of metropolitan development. This is a flow not of industrial produce but of the whole plant itself of industry. And it is more than this. It is a flow of housing and living facilities as well as of industrial facilities. In short it is a sort of “flow of civilisation.”

THIS involves the forces not only of man's industrial activities but of his cultural activities as well. Man's industrial activities which are concerned with the *means* of life are always in danger of defeating man's cultural activities, which are concerned with the ends or *objectives* of life. The objectives of our life are always in jeopardy at the hands of the means or machinery of life. In view of this danger, in any plan for the "flow of civilisation" within a region man's cultural or end activities must be taken as primary and his industrial activities as secondary. This is the position assumed in the plans and movements to which we have referred. Hence the importance given to the flow of population and of the plant of civilisation, for on this flow depends not industry merely, but the final goals of human living on the surface of the earth.

REGIONAL planning is the planning of a region ; it deals with a force or flow taking place within that region ; it consists not in invention, but in the attempt at discovering the plans of Nature for the attainment of man's ends upon the earth ; it visualises industry as the servant of culture ; and its chief concern is the guidance within a region of the "flow of civilisation."

BENTON MACKAYE.

Regional Planning Association of America.

ABOUT SICILY.*

I. HISTORIC.

PALERMO, the capital of Sicily, is about four thousand years old. The Phœnicians, having settled here to trade, gave the place the sweet name of *Zis*, which means *flower*. The settlement grew rapidly, and walls were built to enclose the town. The Carthaginians called it *Mahanat*, and the Greeks, who superseded the former settlements, gave the town the name of *Panormus* (all harbour), from which the present name of *Palermo*. When Sicily came to be a part of Magna Grecia, Palermo did not excel among the beautiful towns of the island: *Agrigentum*, *Selinunthe*, *Gela*, *Syracuse*. We could almost say that Greek influence was little felt by Northern Sicily, and particularly by Palermo, where the Phœnicians were, politically, strong.

WHEN the Saracens occupied (in 827 A.D.) Sicily, they chose Palermo as the residence of their Emirs, probably on account of its fine situation, of the mildness of its climate, and the fresh, fragrant beauty of its gardens and orange groves. In fact, the name of *Conca d'Oro* was given to the surroundings of the town by those imaginative, oriental conquerors. *Conca d'Oro* (the Golden Shell), that means *shape* and *colour*, compounded in one designation. The Arabs embellished *Balarmuth* with splendid buildings, rich mosques and monuments. They enlarged enclosures and fortifications, making of a charming spot, a well defended town also. A new-built portion of the town, strongly fortified and called *The chosen one* (Al Hâlisah, or Kalcia) has been for a long time the most interesting spot of Palermo. It is now the most characteristic, but, I am sorry to say, one of the dirtiest.

COUNT ROGER, the Norman, when choosing Palermo as the capital of his kingdom, did not drive the Arabs off. They were allowed to remain and mingle with the native Sicilians, so much, that, from this time on, they are not to be distinguished any more, and are all one with the Sicilian people. The Normans gave a new impulse to Christianity, and although allowing a certain freedom of worship to the Saracens, they transformed, little by little, old mosques into Christian churches, and then, availing themselves of the craftsmanship of the Arabian artists, they won them over, almost unconsciously, to Christianity. The Swabian line followed, and Frederick the Second did his best to assert the political and literary sway of Sicily, promoting a feeling of patriotism that spread throughout Italy, and was felt everywhere. He granted the Sicilian Commoners a representative branch in Parliament, and, by compounding old extant laws and new Acts, he gave a Charter to the kingdom of Sicily, thus causing the

*An Address to the Members of the Leplay House Party which visited Sicily at Xmas; delivered in Palermo by Professor Anna Benedetti of the University of Palermo.

beginning of that long line of jurists for which Sicily was famed, and, what is more, he established the basis of that patriotism which transcends the boundaries of this three-cornered island, and recognises Italy as *Alma Mater*.

FREDERICK THE SECOND abolished ordeals by fire and water, and hastened the process of civilisation, by introducing witness and testimonial evidence. The Sicilian people, having learnt what freedom meant, could not cower down to the rule and to the odious yoke of the French, headed by Charles of Anjou. That terrible, popular outburst, known as the *Sicilian Vespers* (1282) was followed by a long war with France; Roger of Lauria, the Sicilian Admiral, sank eighty-nine ships belonging to the French fleet, and seized upon forty-eight French ships in the Bay of Naples, making also a good number of prisoners. Among these was the son of Charles of Anjou. Charles was cut to the quick, and shortly after died of a broken heart. Sicily having so far succeeded in maintaining her independence, and intending to secure it, proclaimed for her lawful king Peter of Aragon, the husband of Costanza, Manfredi's daughter, and by consequence, grand-daughter to Frederick the Second. Thus it happened that Sicily, through successive inheritances, passed to the crown of Spain; but Charles the fifth ever respected the Sicilian Charter. The treaty of Utrecht, in 1713, assigned Sicily to Amedeo of Savoy, Duke of Piedmont, who, practically having no fleet, thought best to exchange Sicily with Sardinia, on the ground that it lay closer to his lands.

SICILY was passed over to the Bourbons of Naples, who had long wished to be masters here. Dark days followed for this noble island. During the wars against Napoleon, Sicily became the centre of the military operations of the English. The power of the English fleet was firmly based on Malta, and on Sicily, where the royal family of Naples (exiled by the French) had sought a refuge, under the protection of Nelson. In this way Sicily suffered extremely at the hands of the King of Naples. But the misery of this poor, trampled land awoke the generous feelings of Lord Bentinck who, in 1812, when the English had still power over the island, gave the Sicilian people a new Charter. When peace was restored, Lord Bentinck meant to set Sicily free, so much, that when Ferdinand had come unexpectedly to Palermo, in order to resume power, he was compelled by Bentinck to leave the island . . . at his earliest convenience. Had not Bentinck been obliged to quit Sicily, in order to co-operate with Wellington's army in Spain, the freedom of Sicily would soon have been an accomplished deed. And in the sequel, the English Ministry changed their mind about Sicily. What had seemed a certainty yesterday, the constitution of a separate reign of Sicily, under Sicilian rule, was now fiercely opposed by the English Parliament. In vain did Bentinck, in a long

contest with Lord Castlereagh, defend the rights of Sicily. Nothing availed; the treaty of Paris restored Sicily into the hands of the Bourbons of Naples. One after the other, the Bourbon kings ruled over Sicily, and so miserable was their misgovernment, that secret societies grew everywhere, and rebellious feelings awoke, where justice should have been.

IN 1859, when war broke out between Piedmont and Austria, a secret hope was cherished by every Sicilian heart. "Mazzini, with his ceaseless industry," as Viscount Morley writes, "spiritualised politics, and gave a new soul to public duty in citizens and in nations." Sicily free, meant an Italian Sicily, and that was felt by the Sicilian exiles that had come in contact with Mazzini. England took up the cause of Italian independence and unity, while Russia and Prussia supported Austria in opposition to the Italian liberation.

GARIBALDI sailed from Quarto (May 4th, 1860) with his thousand heroes under the protecting cruise of the English ships, *Argus* and *Intrepid* (Capt. Marryat and Capt. Ingram). He landed at Marsala on May 11th. In a few days all Sicily was aflame—Palermo taken, the Bourbonian army defeated at Milazzo; and, a few weeks after, routed at the battle of the Volturno, near Naples. The warrior king, Victor Emanuel II., was proclaimed king of Italy. It was thus that Sicily was united to continental Italy, and Italy was at last, as the poet sings:

"Una d'arme, di gloria, d'altar!"

After Garibaldi's liberation of Sicily, the Italian national movement swept on to unity under the crown of Piedmont. The British Government helped this movement, and the British people gave it the support of their enthusiastic sympathy.

How bravely the Sicilians have fought in the War belongs to the history of to-day, and cannot be severed from what the whole of Italy did. The ordeal was a hard one for us all, and Italy met it unflinchingly; every man did his duty! The deep sensation of this accomplished duty is not written here or there—it is spread all over our Fatherland, and is revealed by more than half a million (six hundred and fifty-six thousand) of surnames hewn in tablets, hung on war memorials, or engraven on gravestones raised in churchyards scattered everywhere, through the Venetian plain and the Alpine villages. It is centred in a great symbol, in a grand, solitary figure, the greatest of them all—the shadow of the UNKNOWN WARRIOR!

II. FASCISM IN SICILY.

It will interest you to know what this new chivalry, the Fascist Party, has done for Sicily. They have gripped at the knotty problem of

the *Mafia*, and have cut it through with the keen sternness of a master-surgeon. The fields are now alive with the voices of labourers free to work on their own land. Our national Government has done all that was possible towards the resolution of the problem, concerning the division of large properties into small lots. New roads are already spreading their tentacles everywhere; modern machinery is employed by the labourers in the fields, by the miners in the sulphur mines; fisheries are helped to carry along their trade on modern lines. A new life seems to spring in every nook; a new power is felt everywhere; even in the most secluded spots. The dream of beauty is thus turned into a dream of life and labour:

"Every man shall eat in safety
Under his own vine what he plants, and sing
The merry song of peace to all his neighbours."

THE hint I have given about the problem of the *latifondo* and the necessity of dividing great properties into small lots ought surely to be enlarged. (Cf. Prof. Riccobono—*La colonizzazione interna della Sicilia*—Congresso Agrario Siciliano, Sept., 1918.) In a lecture of this kind, meant as a general survey of the history of the Sicilian people, I can only hint slightly at this problem, however interesting it may prove to students of social questions. Somebody said that the *latifondo* has been the undoing of Italy: well, if this be the truth, it is certainly meant for Sicily.

IN some parts of this island you may travel a whole day, always on lands belonging to the same owner. Hitherto it was a common fact to cover acres and acres of ground without seeing those marks of activity, revealing the presence of the labourer. Now, as already said, much has been done towards the resolution of this hard problem, involving the prosperity of the whole island, and much more will be done by the government of Mussolini. The delays of the law cannot always be avoided, and necessarily slow are the proceedings where property is involved. Every traveller in Sicily may at present judge for himself how things have improved of late. Security is a matter of fact throughout the island; the labourers are allowed to work in peace, and cattle-stealing has become a thing of the past. Mussolini, a few years ago, came over to Sicily, in order to find out for himself how matters really stood. He went alone, on horseback, to Ganci and to other districts of inner Sicily, which were considered the stronghold of the rural, all-powerful *mafia*. Prefetto Mori, general surveyor of Sicily, has carried out the Government's intention in relieving at last, the misery of the people at the mercy of the *mafia*. What is *Mafia*? you may ask. The origin of the word is unknown, and, as to its meaning, it is almost impossible to give an exact definition of this peculiar form of self-estimation, self-conceit, self-government.

Mafia was at first originated by the constant strife between the landowners and the labourers ; but the true oppressors were not the owners of the land, but the *gabelotti* (tenants) who stood between the real landowners and the *contadini* (day-labourers). Justice there was none ; and public opinion demanded that every man should, himself, exact justice for wrongs received. Legal proceedings are considered disgraceful, in Sicily, whenever family honour is concerned. The degeneration of this form of self-justice has produced a great number of particular criminals, who have acquired power over certain districts, and gained both influence and riches. These men, recognised as chiefs, surrounded themselves with subordinates, exercising terrorism upon the weak. Brigandage, holding of men to ransom, cattle-stealing, were a matter of everyday occurrence, and many a sale by private contract (which meant private compulsion) is now being revoked by Prefetto Mori, in order to enable landowners to dispose at will of their own lands. Surety is restored now, at least, to a certain extent. Several, among the great landowners, have consented to sell part of their property at a convenient price, or to have it divided into small lots which are cultivated by Associations of Labourers (*Consortii*). When it will be possible to generalize this system throughout Sicily, then this island will become once more the garden and granary of Italy, and there will be remunerative work for everybody.

III. EDUCATION.

IGNORANCE, too, is being driven from Sicily, and the numerous schools are crowded with willing pupils. The system of education is the same all over Italy. There are : *Compulsory Elementary Schools* (mostly Municipal Schools) ; *Grammar Schools* (five years) ; *Classical Schools* (three years) ; *State Universities* at Palermo, Catania and Messina. The wedding of Education to Industry is now an accomplished fact. *Industrial Schools* see to this new want of modern Italy. We have also a *Royal School of Engineers*, *High Schools* for the training of elementary teachers, *Commercial* and *Art Schools* and libraries for every class of readers.

IV. SICILIAN PRODUCTS.

SICILY is an ideal ground for orange, lemon, almond, and olive groves. *La Conca d'Oro* is a glory of green and gold. Vegetation is luxuriant, even where the rich, but dreary sulphur mines open their dark passages into the underground. Palms abound, dates, figs, pomegranates, grapes, mulberries, and every kind of fruit. Manure, artificial manure, is now used everywhere, and modern machinery is slowly being adopted by the labourers, rather shy in the use of the new implements, brought about by the progress of mechanics. But the new system of cultivation is not of course yet adopted by every single labourer. But many

means are used for rural progress. Even the kinema is used in remote centres by members of the Agricultural Board for the Extension of Cultivation in order to introduce machinery and give instruction about improved methods of work.

V. RELIGION.

SICILY has been the cradle of some of the most important myths; every creed, every race, seems to have found here a congenial ground; among others, the cult of Ceres, the goddess of the harvest, previous to the coming of the Phœnicians and Greeks; the myths of Astarte, Venus Erycina, on Mount Eryx, now Monte San Giuliano. Venus Erycina, was worshipped by all the peoples of the Mediterranean: Sicanians, Carthaginians, Greeks and Romans. Doves lived by hundreds on the sacred hill, under the protection of Venus's worshippers. Two hundred men watched the temple of Venus day and night, and the revenues of seventeen towns were bestowed on it. With the advent of the Greeks in Sicily we have the introduction of numerous gods and goddesses, and the old myths mingled with the new. The plain of Catania was the spot where the first cities of the Sicanians were built. Before the Trojan war, historical Sicily begins with Xutho, the son of Æolus, king of the Æolids. Catania and Enna were the centre of the cult of Ceres. The festival of the Catanian Ceres preceded and surpassed in fame even the Eleusinian mysteries. Do you remember Ceres' song in the "*Tempest*"?

"Earth's increase, foison plenty,
Barns and garners never empty;
Vines with clustering bunches growing;
Plants with goodly burthen bowing;
Spring come to you, at the farthest,
In the very end of Harvest!
Scarcity and want shall shun you;
Ceres' blessing so is on you."

WE have reason to suppose that Christianity was first preached in Sicily when St. Paul landed at Syracuse. It is said in Acts xxviii. 12: "... and landing at Syracuse we tarried there three days." Very likely, then, the first teaching of the doctrines of Jesus Nazarene upon this island is to be attributed to the Apostle Paul. Christianity, however, slowly gained ground, here and there, throughout Sicily; and it was only under the Roman Emperor Constantine that Christianity became the universal religion of the island. In the eleventh century the Normans brought about the triumph of the Roman Catholic Church. Reminiscences of the rites and customs of bygone days still linger in many districts of Sicily, revived, now and then, by the celebration of festivals attended with great enthusiasm by the people. Every place, however small, has its particular festival, chiefly characterised by fireworks and processions.

CHARACTERISTIC is the festival kept every ten years at Monte San Giuliano, the Eyrx of old. Mr. Douglas Sladen has a most interesting book on this subject, and is of opinion that this gorgeous festival, going on from midnight to dawn, in mid-August, is certainly connected with the ancient rites and mysteries held in honour of Venus Erycina. Piazza Emerina has a festival consecrated to the memory of Count Roger. The festival begins with a procession of people on horseback. All the masters of the several Corporations of artisans attend, hoisting replicas of Roger's Norman Standard.

HERE in Palermo, on the night before Ascension Day, cattle and flocks are taken down to the sea-shore. Grave cows, white, brown, yellow goats, fleecy sheep, all trimmed and brushed smooth, wearing charming, coloured collars (Catania excels in the toilet of the flock) are swarming down to the beach, making the air merry with the sound of their differently tuned bells. When the sun breaks forth from the East, the shepherds, having pushed their animals out to sea, that they may have their feet laved by the slowly mounting tide, kneel before the main, and raise the hymn of thanks. This is a glorious scene, never to be forgotten.

THE harvest festival is greatly honoured throughout Sicily, and we may no doubt connect it with the old festivals of the goddess of Harvest. With the "Battaglia del grano" (the extension of wheat cultivation, promoted by Signor Mussolini, by granting bonus to farmers) this particular festival has assumed a wider meaning, linking together mythical past and historical present. From the harvest-field grain is brought in sacks from the neighbouring village. Many hundreds of loaded mules adorned with ribbons, bells, and well set in new-coloured harnesses, may be seen collected before the church, standing there to receive a blessing by the priest. Palermo has also the *Festino* of Santa Rosalia. Shining canopies are erected here and there in the streets; cross-ways, gorgeously lighted, are profusely decorated; but there is no more the triumphal passing of the huge car drawn by one hundred white oxen. A diminutive copy of it may be seen in the Ethnographic Museum.

THE pilgrimage to the grotto of Santa Rosalia takes place on the night of September 3rd. The lights borne by the pilgrims define in a fantastical way the road winding up the mountain. It would take me too long to describe these particular festivals. At Easter time, on Good Friday, in some country places we have surviving remnants of the old Mystery Play. In many churches, on Easter Eve, in the moment when the priest announces to the congregation the Resurrection of our Lord, a large cloth on which is painted the Deposition from the Cross falls of a sudden, and the Altar is revealed in the lighted

beauty of Easter. Giuseppe Pitré, the great folklorist, has described with the sharp insight of a scholar and the keen love of a son, the customs of his native island, and you must refer to his wonderful collection of popular traditions, if you want to get full information on the subject.

VI. LITERATURE.

THE reign of Hiero I. (478 B.C.) may be considered the golden age of letters in Sicily; then comes that of the elder Dionysius, himself a poet. Tragedy, lyric, comedy, are represented by Stesichorus and Sophron of Syracuse. Diodorus stands for history, and Empedocles of Agrigento for philosophy, while mathematics stand high with the name of Archimedes of Syracuse; but the rarest flower that grew out of this island, as if it had sprung out of its very soil, is that *Bucolic Poetry* which attained perfection with Theocritus, Moschus, and Bion, and was continued in the eighteenth century by Giovanni Meli, showing that the poetical mood of this people continued unbroken. Folk-songs in Sicily have nothing to do with the loving mirth of the Neapolitans. The fiery, emotional power of the Sicilians is embodied in their songs, the fascinating expression of which reflects, as in a mirror, their strong passions. The popular songs of Sicily possess an intrinsic beauty and a penetrating pathos that linger in the memory. Culture began to decline in Sicily at the time of the Roman wars, but returned to shine with the Arabs, who found in Sicily convenient ground for a further development of their knowledge. At the times of the Saracens Palermo became the literary centre of Sicily, and poets and men of science were freely received and made welcome at the Moorish Courts of the Emirs. Ibn Hamdis El Edrisi, the most learned geographer of Middle Ages, has always been considered a native of Palermo. The intellectual brilliancy of the Emirs was continued and superseded later on by the splendour of the Swabian kings, especially under the reign of Frederick II., who gave a new impulse to the intellectual life of the island. The Court of Frederick was a trysting-ground for troubadours and poets, and poetry here achieved its highest expression, becoming Philosophy. The *Scuola palermitana* was founded, and Tommaso Schifaldo, Pietro Ranzano, Tommaso Fazello taught there.

WHEN the Roman Empire of the East broke down, then the learned Greeks who had made their escape from threatened Byzantium, thronged to Messina, and Messina became the centre of the classical revival. The art of painting was, in the centuries to follow, represented by Antonello da Messina, Vincenzo Anemolo; sculpture by Antonio Gagini, whose numberless works enrich the artistic beauty of several churches of Palermo. The seventeenth century marks also

a brilliant period for Sicilian art, when Pietro Novelli and Giuseppe Velasquez also embellished the churches with paintings of fascinating beauty, and Giacomo Serpotta revelled in the fresh garland of his plump cherubs.

THE name that fills this later period of literary activity is that of Giovanni Meli, the Anacreon of Sicily. I wish I could render in English words the delicate beauty of Meli's lyrics. No one has ever been able to translate them, even into Italian—so fresh, so tuneful are the words of these poems, written in the classic beauty of the Sicilian vernacular. The Doric language used by Robert Burns in his poems sounds a graver note that may, at times, be conveyed to ears unfamiliar with the clear, broad accent of the Scots. Meli's poetry is music in words, and music has only one expression, the one by means of which the artist recreates in a fixed form his own emotion. But still, as Meli is so closely connected with the peculiar bucolic poetry which runs through this island in waves of unbroken, melodious song, I give the prose translation of the opening verses of Meli's *Bucolica*, in which is depicted the quietness of a landscape, coming to life through the magic wand of the poet:

"Hillocks and dales; mossy and ivy-clothed crevices; clear, silvery waterfalls; murmuring streams and silent ponds; dark rocks and crags within the woody maze; barren reeds and flowery furze; trunks made knotty by old age; stony caverns and water spouts; moaning, solitary thrush, ever listening and ever answering echo; elms embraced tightly by the clinging ivy; silent mists, mysterious shadows and secret bowers; all these give shelter to the friend of peace and solitude."

THE landscape is fixed in immovable form, but before we are made conscious of it, we realise that every single thing is quickening to life. This is Meli's art. Never was poetry more spontaneous, never art so akin to nature.

DARK days followed in the history of Sicily. Plunged in deep sorrow, the soul of our island was without song. But about the middle of the nineteenth century, Vincenzo Bellini of Catania becomes the living voice of Sicily, giving out in strains of melody the inner poetry of his soul.

GIOVANNI VERGA, the novelist, who has taken from life the characters of his novels, has given to Italian literature a gallery of living portraits, and may be considered the founder of the regional novel. *Cavalleria Rusticana*, *Malavoglia*, *Mastro Don Gesualdo*, and *Capinera*, are among his most renowned novels. Mario Rapisardi of Catania, the translator of Shelley's *Prometheus*, Luigi Capuana, a master of the short novel, Federico De Roberto, the author of the *Vicere* a powerful book built on historical ground, are names of to-day. I shall not discuss here the art of Pirandello: you know what a deep interest his

plays have awakened in the whole world. Bernard Shaw and Pirandello: new expressions in dramatic art. I cannot close my address without mentioning a leading figure in modern literature: Giovanni Alfredo Cesareo, a poet and critic, whose views on art arouse great interest in literary circles. Senator Cesareo, Professor of Italian Literature in the University of Palermo, asserts that truth is not the reality of the phenomenon, as it may be reconstructed in its absoluteness by philosophers and scientists, but rather that beauty visible only to the unfettered poet to whom it is given to see through time and space. Passionate love is one of the favourite themes of Cesareo's poetry; but his great poetical gift is felt at its best in those poems where any deep human emotion vibrates. Let me give in his own words the remembrance of the tragic fate of Messina, in that terrible night, December 28th, 1908, when the earth shook, and desolation and death spread all over the land. The clocks of Messina stood still for ever at the same hour. The Poet thus refers to them:

"Was there a time in which these clocks marked another hour than this? The lurid hands are still stretched on the dial, pointing forever and everywhere to the same hour. Now and again in the direful silence there is almost the echo of a broken sigh! This is the hour, this one! and from this hour on, they kept motionless and silent for ever!"

I WOULD close this rapid survey by citing one of the finest sonnets of modern English literature, which seems to embody the poetry of Sicily in lines of exquisite beauty. It is by Edward Cracroft Leroy, and is entitled: A SICILIAN NIGHT!

"Come, stand we here within this cactus brake,
And let the leafy tangle cloak us round.
It is the spot whereof the Seer spake—
To nymph and faun a nightly trysting-ground.
How still the scene! No zephyr stirs to shake
The listening air. The trees are slumber-bound
In soft repose. There's not a bird awake
To witch the silence with a silver sound.

Now haply shall the vision trance our eyes,
By heedless mortals all too rarely scanned,
Of mystic maidens in immortal guise,
Who mingle shadowy hand with shadowy hand
And moving o'er the lilies circle-wise,
Beat out with naked feet a saraband."

ANNA BENEDETTI.

A COMPARATIVE STUDY OF UNEMPLOYED AND EMPLOYED BOYS.

FOREWORD.

THIS enquiry is an attempt to contribute something towards a solution of the problem of unemployment among boys.

It does no more than try out a combination of methods which are believed to have been untried hitherto—weighs up the results obtained and indicates whether further effort along similar lines might prove useful.

REASONS FOR ENQUIRY.

THE history of past attempts at social reform is an illuminating subject, and in undertaking its study we often see clearly why some of the most courageous would-be reformers were sometimes defeated in their efforts to remove a social wrong or burden. The possession of enthusiasm and a vivid imagination—both of these are essential. But for really creative work there must be added a knowledge of the social facts related to the particular problem under investigation. This may be almost a platitude to-day, yet it is only a few years ago since Henry Jones, writing on "The Working Faith of the Social Reformer," stated that "The progress of social reform must be slow and uncertain so long as the nature of society is not understood; and society cannot be understood till the methods of science are substituted for the empiricism which distinguishes the right way from the wrong way only by trying both." That much has to be done in ways that are remedial or palliative is obvious, but our aim in social reform must be that of prevention rather than cure. To prevent presupposes a knowledge of causes and effects, and this knowledge can be obtained only by means of a strict and impartial method of enquiry.

THE immediate problem here considered is that of juvenile unemployment. It was realised that little was known about the personal factor in employment, and in particular what relation there was between the 'amount' of intelligence possessed by a boy and his prospects of getting work: whether he was unemployed because of the operation of external economic forces or because he was below the normal intelligence level of the particular trade in which he sought employment. That general inborn intellectual ability, or 'intelligence' as it is usually called, not only exists but can be measured, is now generally accepted by modern psychologists. While the nature of 'intelligence' may yet remain unsolved, it is believed that such tests as have been used in this investigation constitute a valuable method of approximate measurement of the general intelligence of individuals.

NATURE OF THE ENQUIRY.

THE aim of the enquiry was to discover as much as possible about the unemployed boy (within the limits imposed by circumstances) not only in respect of the measurement of his intelligence, but also of those environmental factors which might prove to have some influence, direct or indirect, on the boy himself and therefore on his chances of employment.

ON the recommendation of Professor Cyril Burt the test used was the Otis Intelligence Scale. The presentation of the tests and the relevant directions are standardised, thereby making the personal element of the examiner as far as possible non-existent. The intelligence test was supplemented by a questionnaire covering personal and educational factors likely to predispose to unemployment, and which at the same time lent themselves to statistical presentation.

To obtain material dealing with the unemployed, permission was obtained from the Liverpool Education Committee to test all the boys attending an Unemployment Centre on one particular day. All unemployed boys over 16 years of age who were in receipt of Unemployment Insurance Benefit were required to attend at this Centre as a condition of their being given the Unemployment Insurance Benefit. There were, too, a few younger boys who attended voluntarily. The entire group constituted, therefore, a fairly random sample of the unemployed boy in Liverpool. Five boys, from the same area, who attended at the Central Technical School, were also included. The area from which all were drawn is in the form of a circle with a two mile radius covering a very varied population, ranging from those living in slum districts to those in a fairly well-housed area.

THE employed boys were examined at their places of employment, the co-operation of their respective employers having first been obtained. In each works the boys were tested during their working time. The area from which the employed boys were drawn was the same as that which supplied the unemployed group. By drawing them from the same area it was hoped to obtain a 'control' group for purposes of comparison with the unemployed. A number of representative firms in different parts of this area were selected. Several boys' clubs were also tested. These were constituted of employed and unemployed, who were sorted out into their appropriate groups later.

IN every case the boys undertook to sit for the test and to answer the questionnaire of their own free will. The object of the enquiry was explained carefully beforehand, and their co-operation asked for. It was pointed out that they were free to refuse to sit for the test, and that such refusal would have no effect either on the attitude to them of the Manager of the Unemployment Centre or on their relations with

the Juvenile Employment Exchange or their employer—in short, that I was not connected with any Government Department, that I had no ulterior motives in giving the tests, that the individual results would be treated as secret and confidential, and that the enquiry could not possibly have any unfavourable effect on their unemployment benefit or their job.

THE 'Centre' boys generally were difficult to handle. Most of the discipline and self-control learnt at school had long ago disappeared under the strain of unemployment.

THE Manager of the Unemployment Centre assured me that his boys would not sit for the examination unless there was a definite incentive offered to them. It was therefore decided to make it into a competition, with about ten small money prizes for those scoring the highest marks in the Intelligence Test. The only condition stipulated was that in order to qualify for a prize they must fill in the questionnaire as well as sit for the Intelligence Test. The aim was to get the boys to take the whole thing as a novel kind of game which, while savouring of a school examination, was something quite different and rather amusing, and that, like a game, the results would be poor unless they played it 'all out.' During the actual testing none of their instructors were present, which helped to convince them that it was an affair in which the Centre, as such, had no part. It should be added that a large store in the city undertook to employ the boy who came out top in the combined scores of the morning and afternoon sessions, so that this was an added incentive to keenness.

A SIMILAR explanatory talk was given to each group of employed boys tested and their keen co-operation asked for. In order to balance the effect of the money prize incentive offered to the unemployed, some equivalent had to be offered to the employed. This was found in the question of future promotion. A promise was made to the employed boys that if they did badly in the test it would not affect the question of their being employed by their firm in the future. On the other hand, if a boy did very well in the test this point would be borne in mind when openings for promotion arose. As in the case of the unemployed a promise was given that the individual questionnaires would be regarded as secret and confidential, and that on no account would anyone but myself see their contents.

METHODS OF SCORING THE INTELLIGENCE TESTS.

SOME explanation of how the tests were scored and what they set out to measure would seem desirable.

ACCORDING to Otis, there are two aspects of the mental ability of a child, and these should not be confused. One is his degree of

Intelligence and the other the degree of Brightness. 'Intelligence,' in this connection, refers to the child's degree of mental development or mental maturity—how far the growth of his mental maturity has progressed. As 'Intelligence' refers to the amount of an individual's mental ability, regardless of age, it is measured in terms of the individual's score in the scale. 'Brightness,' however, refers to a special consideration of the relation of his Intelligence to that of others of his own age, and is measured in different terms. It is concerned with the relation between an individual's Intelligence and that degree of Intelligence which is normal for one of his age. Brightness may be measured in terms of Increment or Decrement of Score, in terms of Index of Brightness, or of Percentile Rank. The Increment or Decrement of Score is the number of marks by which the score of an individual exceeds or falls short of, respectively, the Norm for his age, so that to obtain an estimate of the degree of Brightness of a boy in comparison with individuals of his age in general, it is necessary to compare his actual score of marks with the Norm for his age as given in the Table of Norms.

Two methods of measuring the differences between individuals have been used in this enquiry. These are the 'Index of Brightness' and the 'Percentile Rank'—for convenience abbreviated to 'I.B.' and 'P.R.' respectively. What they express is summarised briefly as follows :—

INDEX OF BRIGHTNESS.

THIS is the most convenient measure, for comparative purposes, of Brightness. The I.B. representing exact Normality is 100. The I.B. of any individual is found by adding to 100 his Increment of Score or by subtracting from 100 his Decrement of Score. It is therefore a measure of his deviation from the Norm.

PERCENTILE RANK.

THIS is that percentage of all individuals of his age whom he exceeds in Intelligence. Percentile Ranks extend from 0-100, with a Normal Percentile Rank of 50.

RESULTS OF TESTS AND QUESTIONNAIRES.

HAVING considered the methods and material used, we are now faced with the interpretation of the results obtained from the tests and questionnaires.

THE first comparison to be made is that of the relative brightness of the Unemployed and Employed boys. On first consideration it was thought that this could be done satisfactorily by grouping all the

Unemployed together and comparing them with the Employed as a whole. While this is done, further consideration showed that this method was open to objection as not giving a true representation of the difference between the two groups. The difficulty lay in the fact that the two groups were not strictly comparable because one group—that of the Unemployed—was almost a perfect random sample of the unemployed boys of the area, whereas the other group was not a truly random sample of the employed boys. It was therefore decided to split up the 138 employed boys into the respective groups in which they were tested, so that the employees of each individual firm might be compared in turn with the unemployed as a whole. This method of comparison, it was hoped, would show what allowance, if any, had to be made for the effect of 'selection' on the part of the Investigator.

TABLE I.

COMPARING "INDICES OF BRIGHTNESS"
OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED BOYS.

No. Tested.	Description.	Indices of Brightness.			
		Lower Quartile	Median	Upper Quartile	Semi-Inter- Quartile Range.
111	Total of Unemployed -	33	62	92	30
11	Firm A - - -	40	52	96	28
18	" B - - -	33	74	90	28.5
9	" C - - -	55	73	80	17.5
30	" D - - -	62	79	104	16
22	" E - - -	80	106	119	19.5
48	Various Employers (Boys' Clubs) -	41	70	105	32
138	Total of Employed -	51	78	105	27

If all the unemployed boys tested were placed in serial order according to their individual Indices of Brightness, ranging from the dullest to the brightest, the boy who exceeded one quarter of the group in Intelligence would have an I.B. of 33. (See Table.) Similarly, the Median boy would be he who excelled one half of the group in Intelligence, and the Upper Quartile boy would exceed three-quarters of his fellows. The quartiles and the median split up the imaginary row of boys into four groups, which assists us in seeing how the I.B.'s are distributed on either side of the Median. If we take the difference between the Lower Quartile and the Upper Quartile and

divide it by two it will give us the quartile deviation or semi-interquartile range, and will provide us with a measure of the dispersion on either side of the Median.

THE first point which strikes us on examining Table I. is the definite superiority of the Employed over the Unemployed. In no instance do the unemployed figures exceed those of the employed in the three columns—L.Q., Median, and U.Q.—though in respect of the Median in Firm A and the U.Q. boy in Firms B and C, the corresponding boy among the unemployed has a higher Index of Brightness.

LOOKING now at the semi-interquartile range column in Table I., whose figures are statistically significant, it will be seen that one half of the S.I.R. values are much lower than the other half. Those firms having the values of 16, 17.5, and 19.5 form a group distinct from those whose values are 28, 28.5, and 32. The explanation would appear to be that where care and discrimination is used in the choice of employees, they will tend to be more alike in quality than where employees are chosen in a haphazard manner. In other words, they will tend to be chosen from a narrow band of the available supply, and this band will be the narrower the greater the care which is bestowed on their selection. This, at any rate, is known to be true of the three employers whose boys had the lowest S.I.R. Where but little care was taken in selecting boys it was noticed that the quality was below that obtaining in the more highly organised businesses. For instance, Firm A belongs to a combine which virtually monopolises the industry—competition is non-existent, and an easy-going atmosphere prevailed in the works. This is reflected in the columns indicating both the I.B.'s and the S.I.R.

THE large S.I.R. of the boys tested at the various clubs is explained by the fact that they were employed by as many employers as there were boys—no two were working for the same person, so that the effect of selection as explained above would not appear. The obvious inference is that the more specialised are the demands of industry—the more conscious do employers become of their real needs—the narrower will be the band from which each industry draws its supply of human energy. This raises the question of the existence of 'occupational levels,' which will be referred to later.

HAVING considered the employed group in detail and compared it with that of the unemployed, and bearing in mind the smallness of the totals available, we are justified in saying that the employed boys are brighter than the unemployed boys. This conclusion gains emphasis, too, from the averages of the totals.

It has been stated that the normal boy should have an I.B. of 100, and therefore a P.R. of 50. But to assume that a boy whose I.B. is

slightly below or above strict normality is either 'subnormal' or 'abnormal' is obviously stressing the point to an unwarrantable degree. A working margin is necessary, and one is suggested by Otis, who considers that the term 'normal' should be used to characterise all those who fall within the middle half of the group as distributed on the scale of Brightness. Those who fall in the upper quarter are termed 'Bright,' and those who fall in the lower quarter are termed 'Dull.' Translated into figures this means that those whose P.R. ranges between 25 and 75 are Normal, those below 25 are Dull, and above 75 are Bright. The equivalent Indices of Brightness are as follows:— Normal, I.B. of 80-120; Dull, I.B. below 80; Bright, I.B. above 120.

TAKING these as our points of reference and looking at Table II., we find that at least half of the *Employed* would be classed as Dull, while nearly three-quarters of the *Unemployed* would have to be put in the same category.

TABLE II.

SHOWING "PERCENTILE RANKS" OF UNEMPLOYED,
EMPLOYED, AND SECONDARY SCHOOL BOYS.

No. Tested.	Description.	Lower Quartile.	Median.	Upper Quartile.
		Per cent.	Per cent.	Per cent.
111	Total Unemployed —	1.2	10.0	39
138	Total Employed —	4.9	23	57
59	Secondary School Boys —	95.1	97.1	98.6

THIS table shows the Percentile Ranks of the two main groups whose Indices of Brightness are given in Table I. While too much stress should not be laid on the differences between them (for reasons already given), they are certainly worthy of note. At the foot of the table an addition is made showing the Percentile Ranks of a group of boys who were at that time in the sixth forms of a large secondary school in Liverpool. As these figures were placed at my disposal it was thought that they would provide an interesting comparison. Fifty-nine were tested, comprising the Classical, Science and Modern Sides. About six of these boys have since won Open Major Scholarships at Oxford and Cambridge, while nearly all have gone on to a University. They are therefore the cream of the school and the product of many processes of selection.

OF these figures the most significant are the Lower Quartiles. Attention is drawn to the extremely low values of the employed and unemployed, viz., 4.9 and 1.2. The contrast between these and the equivalent Secondary Schoolboys' figure of 95.1 needs no comment.

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TABLE III.
CLUB MEMBERSHIP COMPARED WITH UNEMPLOYMENT AND EMPLOYMENT.

Description.	Numbers of		Percentages of	
	Un- employed	Em- ployed.	Un- employed.	Em- ployed.
Number who belonged to a Club - - -	22	36	21	55
Number who did not belong to a Club - - -	81	29	79	45
Number who had sometime come under Club influence	58	93	56	82
Number who had never come under Club influence -	45	20	44	18

NOTE.

Total number of boys considered in above Table equals Unemployed. Employed.
103 113

Upper half of Table excludes all boys who were tested at Clubs.

To those who believe that a positive relationship exists between stability in employment and membership of a club—that a boy who is a fairly regular member of a club is on the whole a steadier and more dependable boy than one who wanders the streets at night with little or no satisfactory outlet for the expression of feelings which have been pent up during the day, Table IV. offers encouragement.

TURNING to the table, and considering the upper part, we find that while more than half—fifty-five per cent.—of the Employed belong to clubs, more than three-quarters (79 per cent.) of the Unemployed were not members of clubs at the time. The obvious criticism here is that the unemployed boy is often not in a club because he cannot afford to pay the membership fee. As the result of several years' experience of both Boys' Clubs and Scout Troops, the investigator can say that this is not likely to make a great difference to the figures shewn in the table. Scoutmasters and Club Leaders are seldom martinets in the matter of subscriptions. If a boy is unable to pay regularly, yet is a keen member, allowances are often made on his behalf. But a point that keeps on enforcing itself again and again in work among boys, is that if he is really keen, a boy will somehow manage to extort from someone the weekly penny wherewith to pay his membership fee.

IN the lower part of the table we find a similar state of affairs, although the proportions are, of course, different. The outstanding point here is that of the Employed boys eighty-two per cent. had at one time

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or another come under club influence, while forty-four per cent. of all the Unemployed had never belonged to a club at all.

IN the light of the foregoing it is reasonable to assert that a relationship exists between Employment and membership of a Club or Scout Troop. This may mean that the qualities which make for a good Scout or Club Boy are on the whole those which make for a good worker. Although the figures neither prove nor disprove the latter assertion, experience leads one to believe in its validity.

TABLE IV. COMPARISON BETWEEN THE SLEEPING ACCOMMODATION OF THE FAMILIES OF EMPLOYED AND UNEMPLOYED BOYS.

Description.	Unemployed.	Employed.
Average No. of People per family unit. (Includes lodgers and relations) -	5.95	6.23
Average No. of Rooms per family. $\frac{1}{2}$ of the people lived in -	3 rooms or less	4 rooms or less
$\frac{1}{2}$ " " " -	4 " " more	5 " " more
$\frac{1}{2}$ " " " -	6 " " more	6 " " more
Mode -	4 rooms	6 rooms
Therefore : Average No. of persons to a room who use them for sleeping purposes -	1.43	1.19

THIS table combines the answers to two of the questions in the Housing Section of the questionnaire. It was hoped to discover whether there was overcrowding among either group, and what were the relative figures. The result shows that the families of the unemployed are definitely more crowded. A 'close-up' view shows that half of the unemployed boys lived in houses of four rooms or less, and half the employed in houses of five rooms or less. Some further light on living conditions can be gained through knowledge of the fact that only 20 per cent. of the unemployed and 30 per cent. of the employed had baths in their homes.

TABLE V. USE OF BOOKS (LIBRARY BORROWERS).

Description.	Numbers of		Percentages of	
	Un-employed.	Em-ployed.	Un-employed.	Em-ployed.
Those who borrow books from a library -	23	35	Per cent.	Per cent.
Those who do not borrow books from a library -	78	80	77	70
Totals -	101	115	100	100

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THIS table and the one following are concerned with the personal interests and habits of the boys. This summarises the answers to the question, "Do you borrow books from a library?" Judging by the figures obtained, the majority do not depend on a library for their reading matter. The ability to pay does not arise as the libraries are free. One might have expected the Unemployed to read more than the Employed as they have more free time, but the opposite appears to obtain in practice.

TABLE VI.

FREQUENCY OF ATTENDANCE AT CINEMA OR THEATRE.

Frequency.	Numbers of		Percentages of	
	Un-employed.	Em-ployed.	Un-employed.	Em-ployed.
Regular - - -	53	70	Per cent. 51	Per cent. 61
Irregular - - -	25	24	24	21
Never - - -	13	10	13	9
No Reply given - -	12	11	12	9
Totals - - -	103	115	100	100

THE question to which this table refers is: "How often do you go to the Theatre or Cinema?" As might be expected, the answers given really refer to the cinema alone. The answers were grouped under three headings—'Regular,' 'Irregular,' 'Never.' The standard adopted was a minimum of two attendances a week for the 'Regular' group, which includes those who see the bi-weekly change of films in their local cinema. The 'Irregular' group consists of those who go only once a week, or less frequently. In this matter one would not expect much difference between the two groups of boys. The Employed show a greater percentage of 'Regulars,' but this is probably because they could afford to go more often. In any event the large part played by the cinema in filling up the average boy's leisure time is strikingly revealed.

BEFORE summarising the general conclusions arrived at, it is necessary to clear up a few points which have reference to the questionnaire in general. While the figures thus far given contain most of the material abstracted from the tests and questionnaires which was considered worth tabulating, a few of the questions asked have not been dealt with. This is because, in some cases, they were not clearly understood, but a few comments may be made about some of them.

ONE of these read :—"What job do you want now, at thirty, and at fifty?" The answers showed that very few had thought of what they wanted their life-work to be. The majority gave 'anything' or 'don't know' in replying. That this lack of foresight or initiative is also typical of the parents of these boys is borne out by the experience gained by the investigator as a member of a school after-care committee.

ANOTHER question which has not been tabulated is that which asks whether money had been saved, and how much, if any. The answers are summarised by saying that two only of the Unemployed had any savings—one boy had two Savings Certificates and the other had one. Of the Employed, thirty-four had savings, ranging from half-a-crown to ninety pounds.

CERTAIN personal questions relative to smoking, betting, and drinking were also asked; and in the case of the two latter the answers were probably quite unreliable. In the case of smoking, 73 per cent. of the Unemployed compared with 56 per cent. of the Employed admitted smoking. That both figures probably were understatements does not detract from their comparative value.

CONCLUSIONS.

It now remains to consider whether further work might be worth doing, and to indicate the lines to be followed.

THE most important difference between the two groups of boys related to Intelligence. Although the number of boys examined numbered only two hundred and forty-nine, the data obtained suggest that a significant difference in the average intelligence levels of the groups exists. Here, then, is scope for further enquiry—the examination of a much larger number of boys to determine whether this difference is real, and to discover if possible the causes underlying the difference. We should like to know whether it occurs because the industries of to-day are tending to demand a higher average level of mental ability, so that in a general way the less able can no longer obtain or retain work in occupations which might have sheltered them a generation ago. Or is it because each employer is tending to select his recruits from a narrower band of the available supply, in other words, beginning to select them in a scientific way according to their vocational fitness. It may be, too, that of those who are rather poorly endowed mentally there is a greater proportion than can be readily absorbed into industry. In times of acute unemployment this would be more apparent and the effects of differential birth rates accentuated. The more we know, therefore, about these problems, the better fitted shall we be to control juvenile unemployment.

If these deductions are true then we need to know more than we do at present about each boy or girl before leaving school. There is a gap between school and work which needs to be bridged. Every school and Juvenile Employment Exchange should have available the services of a specially trained psychologist as Vocational Adviser, whose function it would be to make a case study of each school leaver in the last year at school. The Vocational Adviser would assess each child's general intelligence, specific abilities, temperament, and physique, and consider the teacher's report, the school record, and family circumstances. These, when combined, would enable him to make a recommendation about the kind of work in which the child was most likely to be happily placed. The Vocational Adviser would, of course, need to have a general knowledge of the abilities required in a given industry as well as a knowledge of the local industrial conditions in order that his recommendations should have practical value.

THE writer believes that the time is not far distant when every Educational Authority will have its Vocational Service as it now has its Medical or Dental. This is no idle dream of a mere theorist, but simply a plan to extend on a large scale what has already been tried experimentally in London and elsewhere by the Vocational section of the National Institute of Industrial Psychology. When that day arrives the problem of Juvenile Unemployment will be largely solved, in so far as it is due to mis-employment at the commencement of the child's industrial career. Thus will disappear much of the waste of human energy and happiness which occurs nowadays when boys and girls try one job after another in an effort to find the kind of work for which their abilities and temperaments are suited.

RETURNING, in conclusion, to the foreword, we are reminded that we set out in an attempt to contribute something towards a solution of the problem of unemployment among boys. Whether a contribution of value has been made remains to be seen. It will have served its purpose, however, if it should prompt others to effort.

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SOCIOLOGY: ITS PAST, PRESENT AND FUTURE.*

I. DIVERSE APPROACHES.

THE latest and most complex of sciences, sociology (the systematic study of human affairs), has, so far, attracted but few workers and teachers. Naturally, therefore, it lacks as yet that general agreement as to methods, results, and aims which, in other sciences, is the active agent of their advance. Nevertheless, anyone may intelligently and even productively, begin social studies. Most simply, one may begin by realising that, since the very origin of language, people have been thinking and talking about their affairs. And what are "affairs" but, in essence, a moving sense of communion with the society around us? Of old, no doubt, people conceived their affairs in relation especially to their family or horde, their tribe and larger grouping. And, incidentally, it is a useful sociological exercise to observe and reflect upon the persistence with which these primitive social dispositions survive, under disguises and modifications, in the complex societies of to-day. A similarly primitive, yet also contemporary, social process runs perennially from home to hamlet, and onwards to neighbourhood, village, town, embracing also the corresponding region, and readily extending to country and empire. The human and the geographic notes are always blended in this primary social attitude. And some sense of relations, friendly or hostile, with others beyond, inevitably emerges.

For examples of the social relations likely to be manifest in any group, chosen at random, take those existing between children and parents, or between workers and their employers; and again those between city and citizen, or between host and guest, or of member to association, company, or congregation. These relations are partly material and economic, but also mental and moral. Hence arise the rich human interactions named morals, manners, customs. And each of these pervasive types of social interplay may carry a weight of authority not less than that of written and codified law. Every human group, however modern and complex, has thus its ways of living, its "*mores*" (Fr. *mœurs*) or "folk-ways"; so that the archæology of primitive man, the anthropology of savage or barbarian peoples, and the scrutiny of contemporary civilisations are studies fundamentally similar. Yet as these studies are pursued concretely, a great variety of specialisms arises, comparable to those which so long prevailed, and indeed must so far always prevail, among botanists and zoologists surveying their protean

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abundance and variety of life. And as the many specialised studies of organic beings have long been yielding a general science of biology, with its essential inquiries and results more or less common to all things living, so the concrete students of human societies and their ways are also searching to elucidate such general order as may be found through all forms of social life. There is therefore emerging a sociology which meets the requirements at once of observant and reflective minds. It inquires into human ways of life in past and present, and strives to classify and interpret them as intelligible processes of social life. It not only searches into origins, but also estimates tendencies, and therefore peers into the future; for the social life it studies is in course of evolution. But evolution is not necessarily progressive. The evolutionary study of organic species shows them subject to arrest or decline, and even to extinction. So for human societies the same retrogressive processes are observable and have to be interpreted.

How can we define the relation between the recondite sociology of science and the unconscious sociology of plain folk? Well, admit that from simplest childhood to utmost age we are all of necessity interested in the society around us; assuredly it follows that to develop this common and natural interest to fuller understanding, and even to elicit vital contributions, is an essential aim of sociology. Through its many portals we may advance from everyday experience to specialised knowledge, and yet integrate both towards social synthesis. Everyone, for instance, can realise how largely our yesterdays have determined to-day, and also that to-day has some range of freedom, some bearing on to-morrow. From observation and intelligence in the present, we thus look back into the past, calling in aid its biographies and histories. Some sort of sociology, however naïf and uninformed, we necessarily contrive for ourselves, as an aid to understand and interpret our arena of social affairs. The simplest occupations, the widest activities of life, have alike their sociological interest. Each day's work is normally of life-sustaining value; and this aspect of affairs can be viewed more and more widely in terms of the specialised studies called, by the learned, political economy and speculative politics, each but a subdivision of sociology. And again, from house-door or garden-gate, we open into a widening world of social geography. Our interest in immediate neighbours may lead to ethnography and anthropology; and our friendships, our dislikes, are obviously psychological and even moral. And manifestly all these studies, from social geography through anthropology and psychology to ethics, are specialised approaches to one unifying study of social life in all its varied activities. In short, just as M. Jourdain talked prose without knowing it, so everyone, alike the plain man, the ardent specialist, and the critical philosopher, talks and thinks sociology, even though he may scorn that term or remain ignorant of its very existence.

IN sociology, as in other sciences, the beginner tends first to follow a congenial leadership. In most cases the choice is from some specialised line of study, and generally there results a sociology of corresponding bias. Witness, for instance, the sociological pretensions of economists, from the Physiocrats to Adam Smith and onwards, one way through Ricardo and another through his antithesis Marx, to the comprehensive claims of their contrasted successors in the present. Others, following the lead of history, are at first necessarily limited to some nation or people, religion or period. Yet such workers collectively are building up a world-history which tends to push further and further into the past. And reaching beyond the limitation of annals, the inquiring mind reflects upon the significance of chronicled events; and hence arise philosophies of history, which seek also to understand the mentalities, the views of life, the "social representations," which underlie material events, and which by turns inspire them or result from them.

SIMILARLY might be traced the enlarging surveys and amplifying interpretations reached from other specialised approaches, whether starting from the side of elaborated knowledge or of everyday experience. Their complementary products accumulate through the succession of generations, mingle into systems of thought, and generate customary attitudes towards life. Thus arises in each civilisation a tangled mass of survivals—moral, intellectual, and æsthetic. This ever-growing accumulation of experience, ideas, and ideals is the social heritage. Besides our organic heredity, and our material inheritance from the labours of the past, we are thus endowed with an immaterial and spiritual heritage, our body of social tradition. Its "filiation" with the past is transmitted primarily by means of language; and manifestly with greater completeness and endurance through that invention of written records, which conspicuously marks the advance of barbarism into civilisation. By the interweaving of different social heritages the pattern of every civilisation is shaped. However isolated or conflicting, all civilisations can thus be viewed as efforts towards unity. For are they not potential acts in an impassioned drama of creative humanity, waiting to be played upon the stage of our planet? This long-delayed consummation comes nearer, as sociology advances the knowledge and interpretation of all social formations, all civilisations.

II. SCOPE OF SOCIOLOGY.

To take some simple illustrations of the resources increasingly available to this end. Social knowledge aids our understanding of the current events we scan daily in our newspapers; it confirms or modifies their interpretations submitted in leading articles. Illuminated by history it may direct the statesman's conduct of affairs, external and internal. Fortified by experience it may guide the citizen's action. Enriched by

altruism it may ennoble the plain man's life. In order to perform these services, sociology must incorporate into a working synthesis all the relevant knowledge available, and must adapt that synthesis to every-day usage. It must, for instance, assimilate historic annals, from far beyond Thucydides, once called the Father of History, and also their interpretations, from earliest sacred books to latest speeches. It must, for another example, incorporate economics from simplest food-gathering to world conditions and their adjustment. By means of observational and interpretative surveys, it must extend its domain throughout laws and politics, religions and philosophies, languages, literatures and arts. In all these respects the advance of sociology is dependent not less, but more, than the other sciences upon interaction with practical needs. As physical science alternately learns from industry and makes discoveries which promote inventions; as biological science draws from medicine and agriculture, and increasingly advances both; so a living social science not only learns from current events, but looks forward, with informed imagination, towards useful applications in social guidance. Examples of past endeavours might be drawn from codes of law and systems of religion, which coming down from ancestral tradition, survive by actual or professed adaptations to current needs. And in this process of adjustment a formative part is played by adventurous social thinkers who fashion their desires and hopes into inspiring presentments. Plato's ideal *Republic*, and Augustine's *City of God*, the Utopias of More and his modern successors, are all of them endeavours towards an ordering of affairs, which may be viewed as anticipations of an applied sociology.

THERE is thus ample scope for every mind to develop sociologically, from simplest observation of surroundings to furthest inquiries into the past, and highest aspirations towards the future. Manifestly no particular path is sufficient in itself; and experience shows that, since the present is so much conditioned by the past, and the living are so much governed by the dead, we must survey the present and interpret the past, before trying to forecast the future. Yet prevision is the highest goal of every science. And, in foresight of the future, sociology has to make good its scientific status. But significant distinctions emerge. From astronomy to meteorology, physical science foresees the future as unconditioned by human effort. But in the biological sciences, foresight goes with increasing control of the future, as in applications to agriculture and medicine, to hygiene and education. And social records show also examples of this combined foresight and control in deepening thought and enlarging statesmanship. It is evident, indeed, if not immediately, yet, on reflection, that the increasing complexity of things from the physical, through the organic to the social, is accompanied by increasing powers of control, *provided our*

knowledge of tendencies be adequate. And it is essentially to unveil, interpret and estimate, current tendencies that the sociologist surveys the present as quick with survivals of the past, yet also big with events of the future.

So vast a sociological programme affords room for specialists without number ; and its comprehension seems far beyond individual powers. Yet in every period of science generalising minds appear, and accelerate the advance of order upon chaos in each field of enlarging knowledge. Witness the mastery of mathematics through its all-embracing notations ; the advance of physics with the doctrine of energy ; and the increasing grasp of biology in terms of evolution. But all the sciences are fundamentally one, and the rate of progress in late-comers depends largely on the use they can make of their predecessors. Thus, for instance, as physical science subserves physiology, so biological studies of organic life in its nutrition and reproduction, its self-maintaining and its species-continuing activities, and of life in general as interaction of organism with environment, throw light upon the like processes in human society. For every human society is confronted with the organic problems of its maintenance and continuance. And as the development of every species proceeds through its interaction of organism with environment, so we are bound to assume does the development of a people proceed through interplay of their life-work with its place. Again, the biologist contributes to social science when he studies the interaction of hunger and love in man regarded as the dominant species of the organic series. But the concepts of struggle and selection, thus passing over from biology into sociology, submit, under influence of the social heritage, to modifications, which outrange biological criteria. Physical science also aids directly, as in interpreting our human activities in terms of the energy and matter with which they are so largely concerned, either towards conservation or dissipation. The mathematician renders a fundamental service to the social sciences as statistician ; as in compiling the census, constructing life-insurance tables, and very conspicuously in those pecuniary notations which have attained such significance throughout social life, even to dominating what seemed not so long ago the main field of political economy.

We have now outlined the spontaneous origins of sociology, or in other words, its elementary beginnings in every active mind. We have indicated the course of its natural growth and future prospects as culminating member in the circle of the sciences. It is time to turn to the historic facts of its formal origins, definite constitutions, present state and precise requirements for prospective development as at once a natural science and a humanist study. But for further emphasis let us repeat the gist of what has been said. It is this. Starting as plain folk, more or less interested in human society around us, we advance

towards sociological competence in the measure that we become students and searchers, by turns acquiring increasing knowledge of facts, and increasing command of them, through such order and progress as we can discern. Here the slogan of advance is "everyman his own sociologist." And to that end we may consult articles like History, Geography, Political Economy, Anthropology, Folklore, Jurisprudence, Religion, Psychology, Politics, Ethics, with lesser references and biographies.

III. PIONEERS: VICO AND CONDORCET

BUT sociology, like other sciences, has a history of fairly definite origins and well-marked stages of advance. It has, in short, its precursors, initiators, and continuators. With these a working acquaintance is necessary for the serious student. Amongst innumerable precursors two stand out conspicuous. First came the Italian Vico, whose *Scienza Nuova* (1725) was sociological in everything but name. And the same may be said of Condorcet's *Esquisse d'un Tableau Historique des Progrès de l'Esprit Humain* (1794). Vico was the first to see clearly and illustrate vividly the unity in manifoldness of every civilisation. He saw all the varied aspects of social life moving together in a sort of rhythm. Thus, in his "new science" he offered an interpretation of history, which boldly sketches a naturalistic view of social development in religions, laws, and governments, running its course through a recurrent cycle of phases. First comes the "age of gods," next the "age of heroes," and finally that of "men." The first of these phases is patriarchal and theocratic; and the next is patrician and plebeian (but fundamentally aristocratic); and it passes into the third phase of the cycle, that of increasing democracy. Law, for instance, is first sacred and ceremonial, then is expressed in common formulæ, and finally in terms of natural rights; while its judges are first conceived as gods to be supplicated, next as a high senate, and at length as the arbiters of authorised tribunals. Great religions, each with its mythos, doctrine, and ritual, rise, change, and fade; and kings, at first divine and heroic, next lose their odour of sanctity, then diminish in political significance, and finally, reduced in moral stature, they sink into decorative appendages or disappear. This endeavour of Vico towards a "new science" attracted little notice at the time, and has failed to win critical attention since; but to-day we witness something which is almost a fashion, amongst the learned, for the cyclical view of history (as notably in Oswald Spengler's *Decline of the West*), but, so far, without reference to the originative work of Vico.

CONDORCET's interpretive outline is more concrete than Vico's, and indeed comes very near to current views established in anthropology

and culture history. He shows us, in the social dawn, family and horde living crudely by hunting and fishing, yet inventing language. Next appear the pastoral and nomadic beginnings of civilisation, with development of property and the rudiments of art and even science, of wealth and communications. All these endeavours towards civilisation are increasingly expanded in the next formative stage, that of agriculture. In his view of social development Condorcet emphasises Greek civilisation and culture, its philosophy and science, its literature and art, all taken in conjunction with the evolving law and extending empire of Rome as the historic matrix of modern civilisation. He depicts the mediæval order as retrogressive because lapsing from the classical culture. Next is valued the Renaissance for its recovery of the classical culture, and its development of that intellectual and moral heritage towards culmination in the science and philosophy of Descartes. Finally, in Condorcet's philosophy of progress comes his interpretative view of the revolution, in which he himself participated so dramatically both as agent and spectator. From the endeavours and aspirations of this upheaval—the Great Revolution, as French historians term it—he formulated those democratic ideals of progress towards an ever-brightening future, which, during the 19th century, animated the doctrine, and directed the practice, of the finer and more informed Liberalism throughout the western world.

FROM this late 18th century revolution—in France mainly political, in Britain emphatically industrial, and in Germany predominantly intellectual—there issued, in the succeeding generation, many tentatives towards reconstruction in thought and action. In England, the most familiar is that growth and popularisation of economic doctrine, which later underwent a fissiparous division into rival schools, respectively classic and socialist. But for sociological initiative, other post-revolutionary developments are more significant. Notably so is that rich and varied counter-revolution which, going back on the cold intellectual classicism of the 18th century, revalued the Middle Ages as an impassioned endeavour towards a civilisation founded on mercy and love no less than on truth and justice. Of the resulting movements many, to be sure, were filiated to the counter-revolution only indirectly or even unconsciously. Romanticism in literature and the Gothic revival in art, for instance, were without deliberate political or social aim. But the ultramontaniam of the Continent, built upon doctrines expounded in Joseph de Maistre's great work, *Du Pape*, deliberately sought to infuse the political and social world with mediæval ideals of public action and private conduct. Pale reflections of this organised Continental endeavour to reconstruct society on a more religious basis are exemplified by the Oxford Movement in England and the Disruption in Scotland.

AUGUSTE COMTE

THE revolution and the counter-revolution are doubly significant for sociology. First, because they are active and expanding movements in contemporary civilisation; and next, because the endeavour to harmonise them, by uniting the intellectual and practical idealism of the one with the emotional and æsthetic appeal of the other into a single efficient instrument of social progress, affords a main clue to the life and labours of Auguste Comte [1798-1857]. Through science Comte hoped not only to integrate complimentary movements of post-revolutionary reconstruction, but also to correct their respective deficiencies by an appreciative incorporation of every historic initiative. Yet science must first unify itself into a well-knit body of doctrine at once naturalist and humanist. And for that synthetic purpose Comte affirmed the need of a culminating order of science, specialised upon man and his world, past, present, and future, yet so generalised in respect of all the other sciences as to bring their body of verified knowledge to bear upon the understanding and better ordering of human affairs. It was this crowning science that Comte sought to establish under the term sociology. He explained the hybrid origin of this new word as uniting the logical scientific spirit of Greek culture with the wider social order of the Roman world. For the word itself, therefore, he claimed justification on the ground that its etymology exposed the main historic bases of modern civilisation.

WHAT, then, are the master conceptions on which Comte reared the structure of his new study, at once a science and a philosophy, a history and a doctrine? First, an adoption, with further analysis and elaboration of the "social consensus," as Comte called that interplay of every aspect of social life (religious, political, economic, ethical, philosophic and even æsthetic) which Vico had discerned. And next a regulative idea of the process of history, again recalling Vico's, but which Comte saw as evolutionary rather than as cyclical. He affirmed as the central movement of history, a progress of social thought through distinguishable stages. These he termed theological, metaphysical, and positive; and his disciple, John Stuart Mill, less controversially described them as volitional, abstractional, and scientific. For familiar instance take the interpretation of striking natural and social occurrences, such as lightning and epidemics, first, definitely, in terms of divine volition, as, respectively, thunderbolts and punishments; next abstractly and vaguely, as operations of nature; and at length in terms of science, as electrical and pathological respectively, and thereby related definitely to the wider categories of, in the one instance, weather, and, in the other, disease. In the first or volitional stage, the explanations in terms of religion fail to satisfy inquiring minds, since devoid of suggestion for further research. In the next historic phase the abstractions

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offered, though of metaphysical impressiveness, have lost the previous completeness and simplicity ; and so afford no effective interpretation at all. But in the third phase phenomena are freely submitted to that methodic search and experimental test which give them place within the expansive system of verifiable knowledge. But what precisely is this system of knowledge called science ? How did it arise ? What is, or should be, its relation to the outer world of affairs and to the inner life of emotion and ideals ?

To answer these questions was for Comte the necessary condition of equipping the barque of science with prow and helm. His sociology was designed for that double role. To make this clear, a word must be said on that problem which, for two thousand years, had baffled philosophers—the Classification of Sciences. Comte demonstrated the need for a new science of sociology by pointing to the order (at once historic and logical) in which the larger groupings of science had grown towards maturity. First, because dealing with phenomena in their simplest aspects (i.e., most generalised and least complex) came the mathematical group (with astronomy as appendage). Next in natural sequence, as dealing with phenomena in an order of decreasing generality and increasing complexity, came first the material sciences (physics and chemistry, with their own specialised studies and integrating philosophies) ; and thereafter, at a considerable interval, the definite organisation of the life-sciences common to the plant, animal, and human world. But these life-sciences, even if extended (as Comte desired) to include psychology, manifestly do not exhaust the remaining field of knowledge open to the march of methodic research and experimental test. There remains, for conquest by scientific advance, the most complex and least generalised aspect of phenomena, viz., the world of social affairs. The classification of the sciences thus appears as, fundamentally, a grouping into three ascending kingdoms, of the physical, the vital, the social.

IV. COMTE'S PRACTICAL AIM.

It follows that our social world, being by its very nature most modifiable in the scheme of things, would, if brought within the domain of science, be most open to well-ordered direction. Such was Comte's argument for claiming that sociology, once established, could and would yield guiding principles for systematic application of the whole body of science—material, vital, and social—to the enhancement of human life and the betterment of its environment. For this high purpose sociologists should, said Comte, deliberately prepare themselves. Two kinds of theoretical studies he indicated as essential. One was a grounding in each of the main groups of the " preliminary sciences," which was Comte's phrase for mathematics and astronomy, physics and

chemistry, biology and psychology. The other imperative requirement was a grasp of history in all its essential aspects. The avenue to the first of these two preparatory achievements was manifestly open to studious ardour. But as to the essentials of history, what are they, where to be found, and how to build them into the structure of the new science? To the solution of these enigmas Comte devoted the master effort of his constructive genius. He reviewed the historic accumulations of his day, and rearranged their records and interpretations into a consecutive and ordered presentment of western civilisation conceived as the central drama of man's unfolding life and purpose.

In his re-reading of history he applied two main clues. One was his "law of the three states" (volitional, abstract, scientific); and the other his generalisation of the standard concepts, state and church. Borrowing from Catholic doctrine, he took the correlative phrases temporal power and spiritual power, and adapted them to his purpose. That to be sure, is no more than doing for science what Dante, some five centuries earlier, had done for poetry. Let us conceive, said Comte in effect, every society, while it is alive and active, as a full-orbed community of two hemispheres, its temporal power concerned with material things, and its spiritual power with their non-material aspects. With these twin concepts of social structure and function Comte proceeded to his reinterpretation of all historic phases—past, present, and prospective—as a continuing interplay of temporal and spiritual powers. But historic change takes place, for better or worse, through the agency of representative men and women. On the stage of each and every social formation we have therefore to search for the actors, who, because they are at once personalities and types, take the leading parts in their contemporary drama of temporal and spiritual powers. Comte gave concreteness to the difficult concept, "social consensus," by showing how, throughout history, the opulence, variety, progress, of civilisation, depends upon these, the leading actors on the public stage, enjoying independence of thought and action, each and all in their respective spheres, yet labouring together harmoniously for the common good.

A WORKING classification of social types is here needed. To this problem Comte proposed, as an approximate solution, a fourfold classification. In the temporal power, characteristic of each successive phase throughout history, he distinguished its directive types as "chiefs" from its operative types as "people." In the corresponding spiritual power he distinguished its more contemplative or reflective types as "intellectuals" (religious, philosophic, scientific, poetic, artistic) from its more active and expressive types as "emotionals." These are the four social types Comte discerned as renewing themselves, under modifications adapted to the "spirit of the age," in each successive period of history.

His "chiefs" and "people" are easy to grasp in their representative significance as perennial types. They are, for instance, in the language of to-day, capitalists and labourers. His "intellectuals" and "emotionals" are less happily named, the terms being hardly self-explanatory. But a few examples will help to show their recurrent nature. St. Paul, the clear thinker, and St. Peter, the fervid apostle, for instance, stand at the foundation of the Catholic Church as its twin formative types, intellectual and emotional respectively. This pair of forerunners and founders in the Middle Ages developed and crystallised into monks and priests, or, in more general terms, the regulars and seculars, who, to this day, constitute the bipolar arms of the Roman hierarchy. Further, to illustrate the recurrent generality of these social types, we may trace their adaptation to the successive social formations of later times. In Protestantism the intellectuals and emotionals become respectively divines and pastors; in the revolution they reappear as social philosopher and political orator (recalling the similar manifestations of classical times); modern science knows them as researchers and popularisers; and in the everyday world of to-day they may be recognised in characteristic guise as thinkers and journalists. These are but simple, indeed obvious, examples. It is for the sociologist to discern, describe, and interpret the same four social types in all their manifold varieties generated by each age, even in each generation, and in every effective grouping. Women in their selective social role, artists as creators, statesmen and religious leaders at best, are ever found amongst those who, embodying the "spiritual power" of their times, personalise and re-express it as characteristic "emotionals," and thereby brings its influence to bear more directly upon the "chiefs" and the "people" of the temporal power. More indirectly, through process of education and counsel, the "intellectuals" or initiative thinkers of each period operate upon the mind of its representative "chiefs" and "people."

INQUIRE next how Comte connected his view of history as an interplay of temporal and spiritual powers, with his "law of the three states." To affirm the latter in terms of progress from theology as volitional, through metaphysics as abstractional, to science as concrete, is to claim for this "law" an unfolding and development of "spiritual powers." A correlative development of "temporal powers" was necessarily postulated. Thus Comte associated the theological phase of thought with militarism in action, since both are so characteristically volitional; and indeed their frequent association is manifest throughout history. With metaphysics he associated law and politics, and even much of political economy, because legal doctrines, as of "rights," political conceptions such as "state and individual," and economic conceptions like that of "value," are all deeply abstractional, since hypostatizing entities instead of investigating realities. With science

he naturally associated its applications in industry at its best. Hence his ardent anticipations of a scientific guidance and control of industry towards social well-being in all respects, material, social, and moral. For this direction and ennoblement of industry he looked forward to a new kind of priesthood, at once "intellectual" and "emotional," and so educating, counselling, encouraging a new order of "chiefs" and "people" technically competent, yet fully socialised. In this vision of an incipient future, this coming of a "sociocracy," scientific critics, like Huxley, saw only "Catholicism minus Christianity," while Comte and his disciples claimed it to be "Christianity plus Science."

V. COMTE'S SUCCESSORS.

AN untoward fate befell the vast structure of pure and applied sociology so elaborately reared by the initiator of the new science. The edifice fell to pieces in the hands of Comte's immediate successors, who carried away what appealed to their limited interests and left the rest to ruin. His acknowledged disciples, the French and English Positivists, concerned themselves with practice of their master's ritual, with exposition of the underlying philosophy, and with advocacy of the applied sociology taken as finished product of an established science. That theoretic or purely scientific part of the sociology, which the positivist groups adopted but failed to develop, found three notable "continuators" in Herbert Spencer [1820-1903], Emile Durkheim [1858-1917], and Lester Ward [1841-1913], all of whom were hostile or indifferent to many of the practical applications proclaimed and cherished by Comte. Herbert Spencer, while rejecting, and even anathematising, much of the work of the originator (he lacked the historic erudition needed for its appreciation), yet recommended the new social science to English readers in his admirable *Introduction to Sociology*. But in his systematic treatises Spencer ran into a *cul de sac*. He lost sight of Comte's constructive framework in concentrating on two endeavours, one necessary, the other inevitably futile. Certainly it was necessary to incorporate into sociology the products of anthropological research garnered since Comte wrote. And assuredly it was futile, and even mischievous, to try and rebuild sociology on a doctrinal basis of mechanical evolutionism. Lester Ward, in importing the Comtist sociology to the United States, retained its double role of a pure and an applied science. But, like Spencer, he lacked historic equipment and ardour of reconstruction, and like Spencer, he lost sight of Comte's constructive framework in a specialised effort. His endeavour, necessary and fruitful though it was, to restate sociological problems in terms of modern psychology gave a bias to his own work, which has deflected the course of studies and research in America. In France, Durkheim, specifically basing himself on Comte, founded a school of growing influence and output.

This school has concentrated on incorporating, within the unity of sociology, all those numerous and growing specialisms (anthropologic, economic, psychologic, juristic, &c.) which for the most part have grown up or developed within the widening field of social science since Comte's day. But a criticism is unavoidable. All these specialisms (like sociology itself) are but aspects of the social heritage. How, therefore, can they be united except in and through a working theory of the social heritage? And yet the Durkheim school has, so far, neither replaced nor continued that theory of the social heritage, which is the very core of Comte's sociology, systematically built around the concept of history as an interplay of temporal and spiritual powers acting through the perennial but changing social types of chiefs and peoples, emotionals and intellectuals.

IN reviewing the contemporary state of sociology little else need be said. No expositor or continuator has creatively carried the initiative of Comte into Italy, Spain, Germany, Austria, Switzerland, Belgium, Holland, or Northern Europe; with the result that such sociology as exists in these countries is as yet either discursive or specialised, or of philosophic rather than scientific filiation. The conspicuous exception to this general statement is that in Edinburgh, about 1890, Patrick Geddes started an extra-mural school, which, seizing the essential elements of Comte's pure sociology, readjusted them into a framework adapted to current observation of a field-naturalist-like kind in town and country. This renewal and resystematising of social science (later continued more actively by a group working from Leplay House in London) was largely influenced by another French source, to which brief reference must be made.

VI. FRÉDÉRIC LE PLAY.

THE failure, as yet, of Comte's sociology to win an accepted place in the field of science has to be explained. The main obstacle, may be, is not far to seek. Comte himself relied too much on books and reflection; too little on those factual observations, which, being open to verification, are the very substance of science. But the corrective step had already been taken, while Comte was writing. By one of those paradoxes which strew the pages of history, a social science directly observational arose first within the ranks of the counter-revolution, in repercussion, perhaps, from its intensity of emotional drive. The initiator is Frédéric Le Play [1806-1882], a Frenchman and a contemporary of Comte, but to the end of his life apparently unacquainted with the latter's work. Himself of rustic upbringing, Le Play became a metallurgist and mining engineer of such eminence as to gain the widest opportunities of observational travel, being in demand as a reorganiser of mines in almost every country of Europe from Spain to Russia. He was aroused, in youth, by the revolution of 1830 to close study of industrial conditions. In his subsequent life of constant travel he

developed a genuinely scientific method of social observation, and thereby amassed a systematic body of knowledge on working-class families in many countries. Hence his classic *Monographies des Ouvriers Européens*, with its "family budgets" as estimates of real well-being. His now familiar terms of "social service" and "social economy" were moralised beyond conventional business and its economics. But it was a professional engagement in Russia in service of the Czar, that evoked his great illumination. There on the far-spreading Steppe he came in contact with Mongolian shepherd-folk; and thence arose his pioneering studies of the fundamental rural occupations—hunting, pasturage, agriculture, and fishery. He saw these fundamental occupations as determining specific types of family—communitary or individualistic, stable or instable. In each of these again he traced the essential origins of its institutions, and even much of its ideas and ideals. Comte had seen that social life, like organic life, subsists in interaction with its milieu or environment; but Le Play gave this conception its full concreteness, in each case tracing how environment occupationally determines the fundamentals of family and social life, yet how social progress is associated with increasing comprehension and mastery of environment. As a true social evolutionist, in his own way, he traced these fundamental occupations and their developments into our contemporary civilisations; and so linked up geography, anthropology, and economics with one another, and with sociology, not incidentally and discursively, but through systematic observation. And through the master concept that place determines work, and work in turn conditions family life and folk organisation, his observations became alive with the breath of unity. The memorable formula Place, Work, Folk (the social equivalent of the biological triad, environment, function, organism) generalises a pregnant saying of Le Play's earlier phase that the important thing which comes out of the mine is neither ore nor coal, neither metal nor stone, but the miner. His first disciples were, for the most part, a moral *élite* of agricultural and industrial leaders, whose organ, *La Reforme Sociale*, was mainly of practical appeal; but later arose a second group of purely scientific intention, headed by Tourville and Demolins, with their organ *La Science Sociale*, devoted to developing Le Play's geographico-occupational studies, with fuller interpretations for many characteristic regions and social types. The magistral series of monographs initiated by *La Science Sociale* and continued throughout a full generation, unappily came to an end with the Great War.

THE sharp separation of revolutionary and counter-revolutionary traditions and parties, which had so long and widely divided France, practically isolated to the one side the influence of Comte (who, starting in the revolutionary tradition, ended by stealing, without acknowledgement, the counter-revolutionary ritual), and that of Le Play to the other;

so that their complementary doctrines are only now beginning to be associated, towards a fuller comprehension of society, both in the abstract and concrete. And not less unfortunate than this isolation of Comte and Le Play in their pioneering labours was the fact that each of these two initiators stood more or less aloof from their contemporaries, who were moving, often unconsciously, and all of them without adequate guidance, towards a sociology originating in some specialised approach. Thus have appeared naïf, uncritical, and dispersive sociologies emanating from the generalising students of anthropology, economics, social geography, statistics, religion, social psychology, jurisprudence, politics, and history. The co-ordination of all these and other specialised approaches within a framework, observational, geographic, economic and anthropological, like Le Play's, and historic, psychological and interpretative like Comte's, is manifestly an essential condition of sociological advance. This constructive work awaits the coming generation of sociologists. Their labours, in order to be fully fruitful, must follow and develop the initiatives already taken. Let us, in summary and conclusion, outline somewhat systematically the needed inquiries and activities.

VII. SURVEYS AND INVESTIGATIONS.

LIKE the preliminary sciences, physical or biological, sociology must progress inductively from observation towards generalisation, from concrete towards abstract. Concrete and thorough observation (i.e., of place and people in all their aspects), is manifestly essential to sound interpretations, economic and other. Beginning, then, with observation (literally field-naturalist-like), the existing methods of collecting and interpreting social facts have to be harmonised. Hence the need, no less than in the natural sciences, of orderly description and classification, nomenclature and notation. Contributions towards these ends are scattered through the literature of sociology; social observation methods are manifest in everyday life, e.g., accountancy, census and other public records, press, &c. For that systematic study of the social world in all its areas and populations with which sociology has to grapple, all these methods must be utilised and standardised as fully as may be. As the naturalist can never too fully survey his region and observe and correlate its nature and life, so the sociologist must explore his region and its social life, with due records and statistics. Such observation once thoroughly in progress, all freedom of imagination with its audacity of hypothesis, all strength of deduction with its vastness of theory, all glow of social enthusiasm, yet coolness of criticism also, are needed to disclose those processes of social evolution of which we are in search. Without these quickening activities of synthetic aim, our collections of documents, records, and statistics remain at best but half-forgotten libraries, when not mere buried spoil.

THE development of the preceding methods of observation is becoming widely known as Regional Survey; and such surveys are now in progress throughout Britain and many other countries in widening circles, from villages, towns, and their regional surroundings to cities and states; and from nation to empire and language, to occident, orient, and the world. Thus arises the need and practicability of a social observatory for each city, with departments of study on all the above levels with their various outlooks. Hence also appears the possibility of corresponding practice, i.e., of correlating such a social observatory, on each level, as it were story by story, with the corresponding Social Laboratory. Examples of all these levels of thought and action are everywhere arising, and are combining towards social survey and social service respectively; so that practical adjustment of these is next needed. Experimental beginnings of such adjustment have long been in progress, as notably at the Edinburgh Outlook Tower and at Leplay House in London, with kindred endeavours elsewhere. Such experimental endeavours are based on surveys actually in progress, however inadequate as yet.

THE prosecution of such widening regional surveys, the notation and co-ordination of their observations, involves also a more abstract mapping. For we have (a) to define the place of sociology among the sciences; and (b) to demarcate as clearly as may be the special fields of sociology. We have also (c) to inquire how far these may correspond to the special fields of other sciences, and (d) to investigate, if possible experimentally, the relation of theory to practice in all these fields of sociology and its subsiences. Our scientific faith in an orderly universe implies that our sciences and arts should be, must be, in tune, their detail of daily thought and action in time, their generalisations of social philosophy and polity in harmony.

INVESTIGATION of social origins is plainly required. Hence the need of local and comparative ("anthropological" or "ethnographic") study of the simpler nature-occupations (hunter, shepherd, peasant, &c.) with their masked developments in industry and in science, in family and institutions, in contemporary customs and habits of mind. Thus may be unified those studies of place, work, and people (environment, function and organism) upon which geographer, economist, and anthropologist respectively have been wont to specialise. Hence the importance of Le Play and later investigators, with their renewal of the Montesquieu-Buckle-Taine line of interpretation, yet with due psychological treatment also.

BEYOND these fields, with which the geographer, economist, and anthropologist are usually content, we have still to investigate the origins of higher social developments, as notably of regional art and literature, of education and philosophy, of political, ethical, and religious ideals. We have to recognise both upward progress and

degeneration ; and we cannot but ask what possibilities there may be of accelerating the one, of redeeming the other. Towards both purposes, institutional endeavours constantly arise, lapse, and are renewed. Examples may be sought from antiquity, and especially from Israel, Hellas, Rome, but also from all national histories and from everyday life.

ELEMENTAL though are such outlines of the history of civilisation, they remain too environmental, too impersonal : to complement them we need an historic survey, personal and biographic, national and comparative. For this sociological use of narrative history, its facts and dates need orderly arrangement, witness historic charts and atlases. Similarly for historic processes (" philosophies of history ") we need a chart of charts. How is this to be devised ? History presents not only a phantasmagoria of events, but a succession of phases, with their survivals or continued growths. Primitive, matriarchal, patriarchal, classical, mediæval, renaissance elements are all still discernible, and moreover not merely as archæological residues, but as active elements. Fuller analysis of our " modern order " (say rather " transition ") is necessary, whence increasing discernment within it of a potential or incipient order with its nascent phases. Thus appear dawning possibilities of scientific prevision in sociology as in other sciences ; for, as the past is still here in survival, so the future is already here in germ. Fuller economic and ethical interpretations of history appear in the varying interactions of the " temporal and spritual powers," in their permanent elements and their changes. The task of the sociological laboratory is thus not only to advance here politics or economics, or there morals, but to reunite both as etho-politics, the healthy life, both material and psychic, of the social body.

VIII. THE GREAT SYNTHESIS.

TOWARDS this end we have to correlate the main sciences, mathematical, physical, biological, and social, with the corresponding arts. The mathematical sciences are obviously applied by statisticians and economists, while physical sciences subserve manufactures, transports, and communications, but also find superlative applications in their destructive methods. Our contemporary society is thus especially conditioned by the progress of the physical sciences ; yet with the advance of biology, the corresponding vital arts (medicine, hygiene, agriculture) gain in practice and influence, as do education and social progress through the advance of psychology and sociology, and their increasing interaction. The mechanistic view of life, which from Descartes to contemporary physiology has superseded vitalistic theories, is now being subordinated to a more truly vital (because also psychological and social) conception of life and society. The essential biological distinction of nutritive and reproductive functions (i.e., of self-maintaining and species-continuing activities) is congruent with a more moral view of social life and action. Social policy can thus again be viewed as of old ; as no

mere struggle of political numbers or big battalions, but as etho-policy, and so as guiding the practical applications of the organic and physical sciences. Industries and business have thus to be understood as social service; and since every "good job" has an æsthetic satisfaction beyond its merely material accomplishment, the fine arts acquire that economic justification which has been too long refused them. In such larger views, of social science and service together, the fundamental schools, especially those of Comte and of Le Play, are being united, and moreover with increasing incorporation of the various observations, interpretations, and endeavours of later workers.

PSYCHOLOGICAL and moral points of view have thus now clearly emerged. We think of the individual as resultant and spectator of social evolution, and also as an agent in it: and we have a larger yet corresponding view of the social "spirit of the times," as the complex expression of the present, and as the fermentation of the future towards new etho-politic ideals. A synthetic—that is, a philosophic—conception of society is thus coming into view. Our studies are now seen to admit of orderly arrangement, and even in harmonious and unified notations, utilisable alike by concrete sociologist and philosopher, by social worker and abstract moralist.

IN conclusion we return again, therefor, to the affirmation made at the outset, that everyone starting as a naïf sociologist may increasingly gain competence in theory and practice. Each one cannot but make something of regional survey; he must have some interpretation of current events, and he takes some side in their practical issues. Our brains are therefore clearing-houses of ideas and activities. To know and interpret our everyday world and its events, we need the collaboration of the best minds in science and in history, in journalism and in criticism, in religion and in philosophy. To aid in progress, not hinder, makes a high claim upon us, not only for sight and insight, but, even more, foresight, both scientific and practical. We need, beyond industry and intelligence, the courage, the statesmanship which guides events, and along with that the idealism of social evolution, which raises individuals to its level. To promote these conditions is the task of social science and social education; hence the need of schools of sociology (as well as of individual studies), and, moreover, schools which shall be at once centres of social philosophy and training grounds of social action. To prepare and establish such observatory-laboratories for social science is thus as definite a task for investigators and for educationalists to-day as was lately the foundation of observatories, laboratories, and museums for each of the preliminary sciences. As already indicated, the beginnings of such institutions already exist here and there, and the possibility of further developments now lies more clearly before us in every city, especially in association with its educational advances, its civic progress and development.

COMMUNICATIONS.

JAMES MARTIN WHITE.

FOR twenty years Mr. Martin White, whose death was announced in the July number of the *SOCIOLOGICAL REVIEW*, was very intimately associated with the Sociological Society. It was not only that he was Treasurer of the Society from its foundation in 1903 till 1923; but that for more than a quarter of a century he identified himself with that advance of the sociological movement, which the Society was formed to promote and organise. The slow, halting, and often arrested, growth of sociology during the 19th century is one of the major disappointments in the general march of science. With the exception of a short-lived effort made in Paris during the sixties of the 19th century, no national movement was made in any country to organise the progress of sociology by the formation of a specialised society working on the model of the many societies devoted to the physical and biological sciences. Great Britain took the lead in remedying this defect, and it was soon followed by the U.S.A., and later by various other countries, but most of the nations, even of the West, are still without the necessary equipment of a sociological society of scientific pattern. The delay in formation of the Institut Française de Sociologie till 1924, is no doubt due to the fact that in France, the home of sociology, Paris is the seat of the Institut International de Sociologie, founded in the eighties of the last century.

MR. MARTIN WHITE was amongst the small group who projected the (British) Sociological Society in 1903, the others being Professors Geddes, J. Arthur Thomson, A. C. Haddon, and the present writer. But before any public step was taken, this nucleus was recruited by Sir Edward Brabrook, and four men now deceased, viz., Lord Bryce, Sir Charles Loch, Dr. Charles Douglas and Dr. Roberts. In June, 1903, an invitation to join the new society, issued to a list of several hundred carefully selected people, was accepted by nearly all of them. Mr. Martin White, besides contributing generously to the preliminary expenses, and from the beginning acting as Hon. Treasurer, took the notable step of making an important initiative in the academic world. He gave a sum of £1,000 to the University of London for some lecture courses in sociology, to be regarded as an experimental step towards a permanent endowment for sociological teaching. Through this benefaction there came into existence the first recognition of sociology by any university in Great Britain. And it may be of interest to print below the hitherto unpublished Memorandum submitted to the University of London, drawn up jointly by Mr. Martin White and the present writer, to define the aims of the lectures to be given, first under the initial benefaction of £1,000; and later the courses to be given under the permanent endowment to which the University of London was encouraged to look forward. The Memorandum indicated six general aims as follows:—

- (1) To promote the application of scientific method to sociological studies.
- (2) To encourage the study of the more general and philosophical aspects of sociological science.
- (3) To demonstrate the present possibility of an approximate synthesis of sociological knowledge.
- (4) To encourage the study, and promote the correlation, of the more recently established departments of sociological investigation, like Anthropology, Social Psychology, &c.
- (5) To show that the special sciences of Man and the general or philosophical studies of Humanity will each and all gain by being brought into more direct relation with each other.
- (6) To aid in establishing the academic status of Sociology in the Universities of this country in general and more particularly in that of London, and to create a body of academic opinion in favour of re-organising the curricula of social studies in Universities, on a basis which more adequately recognises synthetic sociological conceptions.

At the close of the initial courses, a permanent chair and a lectureship (afterwards converted also into a permanent chair) were endowed by Mr. Martin White, and these have grown by subsequent accretions into the Department of Sociology which London, alone amongst British Universities, maintains.

It was Mr. Martin White's intention that the academic teaching and the work of the Sociological Society should proceed in close co-operation; and during his tenure of office in the Society he kept this aim steadily before him. The drifting apart of the University Department and the Society, which later on occurred, was a disappointment to him, and he made various efforts to bring the two bodies into closer association. The last of these efforts having failed Mr. Martin White resigned from the Treasurership of the Society, but to the very last kept in close and friendly touch with its work. As indicating ~~all~~ his desire, and also that of the present writer, the following passage may be cited from a recent correspondence between them: "Can we not all work together now as we did at the beginning of the movement? At the best we are few and of no great strength confronting a resistant world, which is anti-sociological when it is not un-sociological; and leavened by a slender margin of thinkers, writers and publicists to whom we can appeal. By long years of labour we have increased that margin, I fear, by only an insignificant percentage. In view of the work still to do, we need surely more than ever to show a united front. The things that separate us are trifling compared with the things that unite us, *vis-a-vis* a public, which, even in its educated members, is for the most part either indifferent or hostile to a generalised social science."

V. B.

In addition to his long-standing interest in the Sociological Society, Mr. Martin White was a supporter of nearly all the other activities carried out at Leplay House, and subscribed generously to many of these. His interest in the bearing of Social Studies upon Civic and Moral Education, first shown by his active support of the first International Education Conference in 1908, was later evident in his interest in the work of the Civic Education League up to the time of its amalgamation with Leplay House. Those responsible for the activities of the House in recent years (and such associated activities as OBSERVATION and the Foreign Tours) remember with great pleasure how ready he always was to listen to the latest news, and to lend his help when help was needed.

A. F.

THE NEW "JOURNAL OF ABSTRACTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES."

THE Social Science Research Council of U.S.A. announces plans to establish a JOURNAL OF ABSTRACTS IN THE SOCIAL SCIENCES. These plans are the result of five years' study by a committee of the Council which has canvassed the situation with respect to the needs, resources, and purposes to be served by a comprehensive abstract service in the social sciences. A substantial subsidy has been provided for a period of ten years, until the journal has become self-supporting through subscriptions.

In a report on the subject the Council says:

"THE founding of the Social Science Research Council is itself a recognition of the fact that leaders in the social sciences are convinced that research in these disciplines is greatly in need of stimulation and direction, and farther, that the scholars in these fields should be brought closer together for the consideration and solution of common problems. On the other hand, the

deliberations of the Committee on Social Science Abstracts, and much of the information gathered by it, clearly bring out the fact that one great obstacle to the doing of truly scientific research in these fields lies in the tremendous mass of the materials to be considered and in the relative, if not quite complete, lack of appropriate tools for attacking it. There are so many books, pamphlets and reports, constantly being published and so many periodicals, both scientific and semi-scientific steadily pouring from printing houses both here and abroad, that it is physically impossible for anyone to keep abreast of all the literature, even in his own special field of work. For this reason also and in making a courageous effort to read what he should, he is likely to take first the publications obviously in his own special field, and for lack of time to do more, to become increasingly oblivious of what is being done in other disciplines upon the same subjects. Thus artificial departmental lines tend to become sharper, and in his mind the social sciences stand as distinct and separate fields."

"To overcome these difficulties, a journal is proposed which will save an almost infinite amount of time and labour on the part of research workers, by giving them in one journal complete citations and short but objective abstracts of all important new materials, and will at the same time draw together the several disciplines by serving them all through one journal based upon some systematic classification and improved by numerous cross-references to the materials in other fields. Other important advantages of such a publication could easily be stated. It will save much duplication and waste of effort, it will apprise the worker of the existence of other specialists working on his problems and stimulate correspondence between them, it will call attention to new methods of research, it will serve as a permanent record of the work already accomplished and will in many other ways promote the healthy development of the sciences to which it relates."

"To assist the Organising Committee, a number of advisory committees have been appointed in the fields of cultural anthropology, economics, history, human geography, political science, sociology, and statistics. These advisory committees have been asked to suggest: (1) the names of scholars who may be considered for the position of salaried editors and unsalaried consulting editors; (2) to draw up a scheme of classification adequate to the needs of the systematic grouping of materials from their respective fields of specialisation within the social sciences."

"SINCE the Council is made up of delegates from the national learned societies in the fields of anthropology, economics, history, political science, psychology, sociology, and statistics, the purposes of the Council in its efforts to further co-operative scientific research in the social sciences is best served by devoting SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS to the fields of cultural anthropology, history, human geography, political science, sociology, and statistics, broadly construed."

"SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS will be issued monthly during the year and in each issue will appear systematic abstracts of new information published in the fields indicated for the preceding month or months. SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS will be printed in English in this country, but it will attempt to cover the social science literature of the world as originally published in all languages."

"NEGOTIATIONS are under way to establish a satisfactory basis of co-operation with the Committee on Intellectual Co-operation of the League of Nations in working out a *modus operandi* with the arrangements for economic abstracts undertaken by this international organisation."

"THE test of published materials to be abstracted will in general be the criterion of *new information*, in the sense of important factual studies and contributions to theory and opinion, in the fields of the social sciences indicated. This will require the careful scrutiny of articles in periodicals, pamphlets, bulletins, monographs, and new books. It is conservatively estimated that the annual number of abstracts will run to fifteen or twenty thousand titles the first year. The abstracts will be cross-referenced and annual indexes published. It is hoped that the first number of SOCIAL SCIENCE ABSTRACTS may be published within the present calendar year." THE above information is taken from the May number of the AMERICAN JOURNAL OF SOCIOLOGY.

THE SOCIAL IMPORTANCE OF THE EARLY TREATMENT OF MENTAL DISORDER.

THERE is, at the present moment, considerable public interest in the question of the early diagnosis and treatment of mental disorder. The importance of early treatment in cases of mental disorder is widely recognised, but the emphasis is usually laid on the possibility of the prevention of suffering for the person concerned rather than on the sociological aspect of the question.

GREAT point is given to the social side of the subject at the present time by the fact of the number of murders which have been committed lately by persons of obviously abnormal psychology. In several of these cases a plea of insanity has been raised; but, whether the persons were insane from a legal point of view or not, the fact remains that if in these cases there had been facilities for proper treatment when signs of abnormality first occurred and if there had been a public opinion which favoured early treatment in such cases, the history of these persons would not have ended in so terrible a catastrophe both from the social point of view and from the point of view of the individuals themselves.

ONE case especially noteworthy in this connection was the case of Sidney Bernard Goulter, aged 25, who was sentenced to death on December 5th, 1927, for the murder of the young woman Constance Oliver, in Richmond Park, on October 2nd of the same year. In his statement, Goulter gave as his reason for the murder that he was jealous because Miss Oliver told him that she was going to the theatre the next evening with a girl friend and two other men. He described how he hit Miss Oliver on the head with her umbrella and how, after having rendered her unconscious after a struggle, he tied pieces torn from her underclothing round her neck to keep her unconscious until he had got away (death being actually caused, according to the medical verdict, by strangulation). In his statement, Goulter said further that after he had tied the clothing round the girl's neck he lighted a cigarette on the spot. He also said that he took money out of her purse because he had none of his own. Miss Oliver was physically a fine young woman, whom Goulter had apparently known for a short time only. He had been to the house once, to the father's knowledge, in the middle of September, and on this occasion had sat with the girl, but had not entered into any conversation or love-making.

AFTER the murder, Goulter does not seem to have made any serious effort to leave the district. The first night he wandered about, the second and third nights he spent at a lodging-house in York Road, Wandsworth. On the second day after the murder he met the sister of the murdered girl in York Road. The disorientated state of his mind at this time is shown by the fact that he addressed her as "Connie," the name of the murdered girl. On the next day, according to his statement, he saw that a woman had been found murdered in Richmond Park, whereupon he went home with the intention

of telling his parents what had happened. His mother refused to admit him into the house, but told him to go to the police station at Kingston. He walked up Kingston Hill (again according to his own statement) without knowing where he was going or what he was going to do. He was arrested by a police officer on Kingston Hill, volunteering to the officer the statement "I know what you want me for. It's about Connie."

ALL the circumstances (as far as we know them) of the murder and the subsequent occurrences show a highly abnormal state of mind on the part of Goulter. A normal jealousy (as far as jealousy is ever normal) would have led a man under such circumstances to show that he was superior to those who were rivalling him, as he thought, in the affections of the woman he loved. The type of jealousy which led to this crime is a type of jealousy common among insane persons. It is the childish jealousy manifested by persons of inferior mentality when they think that someone is interfering with the exclusive attention and regard which they demand from the person on whom they depend for security and a sense of power. In the case of persons certified insane, such jealousy is frequently manifested in relation to the wife of the insane man, investigation in such cases showing that the jealousy has no cause in actual fact, as far as the conduct of the wife was concerned. Jealousy of this kind in married life may arise when a child is born to take away the attention of the wife from her husband. So anxious may a man of this mentality be to preserve to himself the attention of a wife who has "mothered" him, that he may even go to the length of elaborating stories of his own unfaithfulness, with the object of securing his divorce as a husband that he may keep the status of a child. With such an attitude of mind a man may rejoice in the death of the object of his affection, since then he can enshrine her as his saint and guardian angel, whose function is to watch over and protect him, both in this world and the next, and also (since there is a psychic urge at the back of the childish desires in the mind of the devotee) to help him to live up to his higher self. In the case we are considering, we may notice that Miss Oliver was a fine, strong young woman, whose attachment to Goulter no doubt gave him a sense of confidence. We may notice also that he took money from her bag after the murder, a sign that in his relations with her he was seeking something of value from her.¹ The fact of his lighting a cigarette suggests his feeling of satisfaction that he had rendered it impossible for her to transfer her affections to anyone else.²

THE jealousy arising from the desire for the exclusive attention of a loved object would in no case lead to murder for the satisfaction of the desire unless the mental disposition of the person in question were such that under certain circumstances all the checks of a normal social adjustment were liable to removal. This is possible only in persons with an actual hereditary tendency towards insanity. Under the influence of fear, such a person is liable to a cleavage in the personality: the mind, as it were, gets turned

¹When visiting at a mental hospital (some time after writing this article) I was struck with the similar behaviour of an insane patient to whom I was talking. He wished to find out what (psychological) meaning I had for him and showed particular interest in the contents of my handbag, enquiring eagerly what there was inside it for him.

²This contention is curiously borne out by the evidence of the "Vi Case" (February, 1928), in which a young man, similarly animated by jealousy, tried to strangle the woman ("Vi") who was the object of his attachment. Thinking that he had killed her, he committed suicide by throwing himself in front of a train. In his diary were found the following words, written on the day of his death: "Killed 'Vi.' Will meet 'Vi' darling in other world.—Geg. (his own nickname). But she loved and kissed me while I was doing so, so did give her best kiss when dead." The childish nature of the man's language in this extract is noticeable, suggesting the functioning of a secondary, automatic personality, called into activity by his fear and jealousy.

right round, so that the repressed unconscious motives dominate the field of consciousness and determine for the time being the reactions to the external world. We have reason to know from this young man's habits of self-abuse (of which evidence was brought forward when his application was made for right to appeal), that with him certain instincts were repressed from normal outlet, so that these instincts must have been working at a lower psychological level beneath the field of consciousness. At a moment of sudden fear, caused by the threatened end of the phantasy of power which he had woven round the person of Miss Oliver, these repressed motives burst up to the surface and dominated his mind, so that the psychic urge fulfilled itself through an act of sadism, by which complete possession was obtained by him of the loved object, even though dead. The fact that Goulter was actuated ordinarily by the more normal feelings of social life was shown, not only by the relief expressed by him on his arrest and by his statement that he was willing to suffer the consequences of his act (in which case he was, no doubt, unconsciously influenced, like the author of the "Vi" tragedy, by his desire to continue his relations with Miss Oliver in the other world), but also by the message of sorrow which he sent to the girl's parents; whilst anyone who saw the young man (as the writer did when he made his application for right to appeal) would have said that the face was the face of a man not altogether actuated by bad motives. Only a tendency to that dissociation of personality which makes a man insane under the disintegrating influence of fear could have accounted for his action: a tendency which we may infer to have existed as an hereditary factor in Goulter's case from the fact (revealed by enquiries made by police officers and brought forward at the trial) that his great-grandfather died insane, that a brother of his maternal grandmother committed suicide and that a nephew of the latter also committed suicide.

AN abnormal state of mind had been apparent in this young man at least since the age of 16 (when it was first remarked by his father). According to the evidence given by his father at the trial, the boy would relapse periodically into a morbid state, and when in this morose condition would sit for hours in a chair with his head in his hands. He would stay out till five o'clock in the morning, his resort on these occasions being Richmond Park. The father deposed that he had had nine years of worry and anxiety over his son. Shortly before the murder he had begun to follow his mother about from room to room, so that the father had been alarmed, both on the mother's account and also on account of his younger daughter (a girl at school). Goulter's mother bore out this testimony to her son's abnormal behaviour, which had manifested itself about two years before the murder in his wearing a black band for his mother and telling friends that she was dead. She remarked on the strange look that he had at times in his eyes and said that she never felt safe with him. These features of his behaviour will be familiar to those who have had to do with cases of insanity. A thorough psychological investigation would no doubt have made the mental picture clear.

If such a man in his earlier years had been treated with insight into his abnormal psychological condition and if he had come into contact with someone who could have inspired him with an ideal and brought out the better side of his nature, this tragic outcome of his history might have been averted. In persons of this introverted temperament the power of social contact is always slight. Unless the sense of social responsibility is fostered in them by those who understand the danger of such a temperament, there is always the possibility of their sense of social relationship falling into abeyance under the stress of abnormal circumstances². ALICE RAVEN.

²Goulter was hanged on 6th January, 1928.

THE HOMECROFT MOVEMENT: ITS SOCIAL AND EDUCATIONAL ASPECTS.

SOME of the most acute social observers during the last ten or twenty years have been growingly conscious of a certain quiet stirring as of new life in the smaller towns and villages of England. To enumerate all the sources of this impression would be difficult in short space; but among the more obvious of them would have to be reckoned the spread of Women's Institutes, the interest in rural education, the concern shown by the legislature for agriculture, and, lastly, those loosely-connected movements for preserving beauty spots, planting garden suburbs, providing playing fields and centres of village life with all their attendant functions of community singing, dramatics, dances and revival of old-time observances and festivities. This order of things on the one side, and facts of an economic kind on the other, such as the spreading of the city suburbs into the country and the linking up of remote places by road transport combine to give a sense as of a vast out-breathing and out-flowing of the towns towards the country, which is charged with social power.

THIS stream, within which far-seeing reformers like Sybella Branford early placed themselves, is the source of power with which the friends of the Homecroft systems are also working. They seek to canalise it towards fruitfulness in two main directions. On the one hand they would make out of it a new economic resource for the wage-earning population; and on the other hand they would have it minister to that balance of industry and agriculture which is an indispensable feature of the economic rehabilitation of the country which they believe to be coming, however slowly.

HOMECROFTING is a certain system of combining land cultivation with working-class housing; and in the light of the larger articles of its faith, is apt to seem an insignificant thing enough. It should be remembered that while still experimental and new, the method has passed the point of being a mere paper scheme. An actual model of a Homecroft settlement can be seen in its beginnings on a very small scale on the National Homecroft Association's land near Cheltenham, where a colony of 10 houses, part of a scheme for 25, are being provided by private capital for the sake of giving a concrete demonstration of the plan. I may dwell for a moment on the details. Every family is to have its detached house and $\frac{2}{3}$ of an acre croft. It pays 16s. 3d. per week plus rates. This is a purchase rent by which, in 25 years, the householder becomes freehold owner of the whole—land, house, outhouses and crops. The house itself is two-storied, has five apartments, is built substantially with cement blocks, and is in every way superior to what, say, an unskilled labourer's wage would usually enable him to have. Yet it is intended that the ordinary wage-earning worker should find it possible to live there. An additional economic resource is put into his hands from which to find the rent. The croft is fitted out for providing the family with food. It is so arranged that the food production can be done by spare-time work. The settlement is within easy access of the man's employment by motor bus or cycle. The food gardens are on labour-saving lines. The two rows of houses facing each other, each with its 80 feet of frontage, have their land in an oblong, stretching 200 feet back. The plots thus laid edge to edge permit a petrol-driven cultivator to pass down all of them at once, leaving every man a large slice of ground at the extreme end of his garden ready cultivated to his hand every year. This part of the plot takes his summer vegetables. Elsewhere it is planted with trees, bushes and permanent crops as the inmate desires. Living in this pleasant little self-contained demesne,

fitted up as it is with accommodation for rabbits, fowls and goat, a family could, in the ideal case, provide supplies for its own table—vegetables, fruit, eggs, meat and milk—all delightfully fresh and in fair quantity, for a considerable part of the year. Released thus from the strain of providing food out of his wages alone, the householder can pay for the better roof that is over his head. Here the man's status is raised without the cost of it being charged against his industrial product. That is the economic device. And it takes little imagination to see how much more than an economic device it is. Compared with conditions of life in the slums and east ends of our towns, to which the wage-earner is otherwise condemned, life in this garden home is a miniature paradise. Here is an end to the stunted children, an end to the sunless dwelling, an end to hunger. Here at last is opened up for people whose lives must be given to the manual work of the world, a way of existence which conscientious members of the more privileged classes can bear to think of, without inward disturbance.

It is not possible to dwell on all the devices which have been put into practice in order to bring such homes within reach of the weekly wage-earner's purse. But the sociological interest of these endeavours lies in the fact that the success which has already attended them may reasonably be expected to grow. In endeavouring to make the system economic, the principle followed was that of beginning with the likeliest land and the likeliest people, with a view to advancing towards the less likely step by step, as methods became more completely mastered and experience grew. Normal returns from land, for example, are something which especially stands to be improved as science advances. And it must be remembered of likely people, in the first place—people prepared both by taste and experience for this way of life—that there are thousands of them already in the towns; and secondly, that one of the most fascinating objectives for our education system would be to prepare more. This is to be accomplished by capturing the young. It would be no burden but a special educational opportunity. Nowhere among the many departures advocated by progressive educationists in the name of bringing "concreteness" into book studies, is there a plan that can rival the actual production by the children in a garden of suitable size, of fruits, vegetables, eggs, milk, meat and honey in small "family" quantities, as an opportunity for a competent teacher to handle them to their lasting educational benefit. It would be a departure moreover, wholly in line with the leanings of many of our present educational leaders; so much so that the method of linking it on to our present school system with a minimum of disturbance has already been worked out by the movement, although it has not yet been experimentally applied.

It will be noticed that a principle has here been suggested of far-reaching import, not for the practice of education only, but for the theory behind it. The recognition by our education system of its duty to the lowest of its children, by preparing them to enter a life in which they could be happy, would indeed entail certain fresh departures in practice; those which are involved, namely, in making it a central educational object to spread proficiency in the food-producing art everywhere and to create the aptitude for it in all the children of the community. But it is possible that the greatest change would be in theory; in the answer given to the question, not "What is to be done?" but "In what interest is it to be done?" A mere piece of economic apprenticeship (for it could be so described), namely, the fitting of children to enter upon life in a Homecroft home and get the fullest out of

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it, has, let us say, been found to promote their educational good. If so, it amounts to a revaluation of the educationist's function in the life of the nation. Once enlisted in the enterprise of ensuring that its yearly quota of adolescents are turned out "self-feeders whatever else they are," the national education system is enlisted in a programme of national economic rehabilitation. And it might become conscious of the fact, and deliberately aim at it. If so, no news could be more welcome to those who have any insight into the economic position of our country. And none ought to be more welcome to those who have the interests of education itself at heart. The important maxim for a clear-sighted education system is not to avoid subserving economic needs, but to insist on subserving real ones. It has confused the two in the past and become irrelevant to life in consequence. This is but to invite the attack of the philistine; and signs are abroad that such attacks are impending. Pressed by the economic crisis industrialists are being goaded to interfere in education. But their call for the aid of education in rehabilitating the country, while justified, is uninformed. They cannot conceive of education for industry except in terms of current technical instruction. The logic of the view, as they themselves are the very people to see whenever their attention is drawn to it, is fatuous. "Trade is bad and posts are scarce. Therefore we must have education with some kind of an industrial cast or bend." And what will that do? Not increase the posts, but intensify the scramble for them! What advantage has a lad with extra technical education when jobs are hard to get? Simply that he can clamber the better over the heads of his fellows and seize the prize. The only technical education that is of any use is one which relieves the pressure at the bottom. That can only be done by draining the mass away into happiness by another route. It can only be done by an education which fits every individual to live a life at the ground level, from which the joys of family existence have not been taken away. That is not a change in practice only, but in theory of education. It is a return to the immemorial tradition of apprenticeship to life, the conception which can, and in the end invariably does, close all epochs of educational hare chasing. We must utilise education to-day to break the slavery to the wages envelope. We must utilise education to give men access to the age-old alternative to wages, namely, mother earth and their own hands. We must utilise education to release the scramble by fitting people to hew out a resource for themselves. And so to fit them means, as we have seen, not more technics, but education universal and real, joy and discipline at once, the establishment and development of character.

J. W. SCOTT.

TOWN PLANNING AT OXFORD.

(The Corporation have by a large majority decided to expel the flower sellers from the streets of Oxford.)

Naboth is old, and vineyards do not pay;
The Corporation likes to have things neat;
They need more room for traffic every day,
And so the flowers have vanished from the street.

G. D.

BOOK REVIEWS.

THE SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY OF WILLIAM MORRIS: by Anna Von Helmholtz-Phelan, Ph.D. Duke University Press, North Carolina. (17s. 6d.)

It is questionable whether it is wise or even possible to consider in isolation one aspect or one interest of such a great personality as that of William Morris. Can we think of Morris the Socialist apart from Morris the Craftsman, or Morris the Poet? Fortunately the contents of Dr. Helmholtz-Phelan's book is greater than its title. Those who have little sympathy with Morris's social philosophy have suggested that his political activities were merely an aberration of an over-active mind, a lapse from which he partially recovered. That this was not so is made abundantly clear in this book. Morris became a Socialist because he began as an Artist. Pondering on the art-poverty of his day, he came to the conclusion that this art-poverty had its roots in the unequal distribution of opportunity for men and women to express themselves artistically. His social philosophy was his cure for the art-evils of contemporary industrialism; and if he had been silent about Social reform he would have failed both as poet and craftsman. He says "I found that the causes of the vulgarities of civilisation lay deeper than I had thought, and little by little I was driven to the conclusion that all of these uglinesses are but the outward expression of the innate moral baseness into which we are forced by our present form of Society, and that it is quite futile to attempt to deal with them from the outside" (page 39).

MORRIS believed that the present industrial order forbids men to be happy; all men, he argued, have the right to be happy, and to enjoy life; if this be true, then the prevailing system must be changed in some way, and the only way which seemed to present any hope to him was the way of Socialism, so Morris joined the Socialists.

MORRIS soon had to face a problem which meets all who share his ideals—the problem of ways and means. Granting that our present industrialism is stifling to true art and fulness of life, how are we to set about changing it? Morris was never very clear about this, but the writer of this book has clearly traced the changes of method advocated by the poet at different periods of his life.

WHILE he was a member of the Socialist League, Morris was convinced that the only way was the way of immediate revolution, and the ushering in of the new day in his own lifetime. Seven futile conflicts with the police made it clear to Morris that such methods could never succeed. He then felt that education towards Socialism was the best method to follow. "One man with an idea in his head," he says, "is in danger of being considered a madman: two men with the same idea in common may be foolish, but can hardly be mad; ten men sharing an idea begin to act; a hundred draw attention as fanatics, a thousand, and Society begins to tremble; a hundred thousand and there is war abroad, and the cause has victories tangible and real."

DURING the last six years of his life Morris changed his methods again, and came to believe that it was necessary to work for the passage of measures and reforms for the relief of the workers. In the end, Morris realised fully that political means were the only means available at the present time for the gradual transformation of society; he came to agree with the programme of palliation which the Social Democratic Federation was advancing. His final contribution towards this complex problem of method was to urge a fusion of all advanced and progressive groups for the formation of a Party strong enough to obtain economic reforms through Parliament. The writer of this book suggests that this ideal is now fully realised in the

formation of the Labour Party "which in union with the Liberals brought about a transformed Great Britain." This, we fear, is too sweeping an assertion to make. It is doubtful whether Morris would have been satisfied with the present Labour Party as the great ideal for which he was striving, and certainly difficult to see how the Labour Party, with the help of the Liberals, have transformed Great Britain! It is certainly true that machine industry has taken over a certain amount of the soul-destroying, degrading and menial work which Morris taught was the only justification of the machine, but it is questionable whether labour conditions to-day are any better or any happier for the individual than they were at the end of the 20th century. The speeding-up of industry has brought additional problems and added burdens for the worker; the increase of mass-production has added monotony to labour and misery to the unskilled toiler; the gradual withdrawal of capital from basic industries, and the multiplication of luxury productions has enlarged the gap between rich and poor and had added, to the numbers for those for whom there is no work to do. It is still true as Morris wrote, that "London and our great commercial cities are mere masses of sordidness, filth and squalor, embroidered with patches of pompous and vulgar hideousness"; still true that "our cities are a disgrace to us, and our smaller towns a laughing stock, our dwellings inexpressibly base and ugly"; still true that "civilisation is passing like a blight daily growing heavier and more poisonous, over the whole face of the country, so that every change is a change for the worse." Quoting this rhetorical passage, our author feels it necessary to add a footnote: "Morris is here carried away by his enthusiasm." But is this so? Was he not rather inspired by a great love for beauty and for humanity, and a burning passion to see life beautiful and happy for mankind, an ideal which even a united Socialist Party has done little to achieve?

THE writer, however, apart from these somewhat facile satisfactions with the twentieth century and its "improvements" is a great admirer of the social ideals of William Morris, and has produced a thoroughly readable and instructive book on the subject. Our only regret is that the price will certainly debar it from the general reading public.

W. R. J.

A SOCIAL HISTORY OF ENGLAND: by Frederick Bradshaw, M.A., Oxon., D.Sc. Lond. University Tutorial Press Ltd., London. Third Edition, 1927.

AT first glance at its quietly summaristic and coldly economic style one may not appreciate this little text-book as it deserves; but none the less it will be found well to reward the reader; since of remarkable freedom from the political attachments and limitations of so many ordinary text-books of history, and so giving a well-studied, compact and lucid outline of the economic issues underlying politics, and often also of those produced by their mismanagement. It will thus be found of real educative value to the student, and may also be recommended to the sociological reader, as conveniently condensing much of the best of larger works, and with interpretations alike shrewd and fair-minded; so producing a more intelligible presentment of each given situation than most of us can have reached by ourselves—as for early institutions, and for many other appreciations and criticisms, as of Stuart and Commonwealth rule, of the economics of the American War of Independence, &c. We need more teachers like Mr. Bradshaw, and more economists like him too; and not only for University students, but also for Sociology and its Reviews.

P. G.

THE CIRCLE AND THE CROSS: A STUDY IN CONTINUITY:
 by A. Hadrian Allcroft, M.A. Vol. I. "The Circle," pp. 370.
 Macmillan & Co. Limited. 1927.

THE volume before us, by the author of *EARTHWORK OF ENGLAND*, is a work of much more than usual interest, and is an excellent example of the fertility in archaeological research of a combination of classical scholarship and unstinted field observation.

THE ostensible purpose of the book is to show that the word "church" is derived from the Latin "circus" (Roman Britain, "circ"; Welsh, "cyrch"; Saxon, "kirk"; "cirice"). To our thinking the author has made this point appear so obvious that it seems incredible that the admittedly unsatisfactory theory advanced by the Saxon writer, Walafrid Strabo, in the 9th century, namely, that the word represents the Greek *Kuriakon* = the Lord's house, has held the field until now. To have established for the first time the etymology of so significant a word in our language is certainly no mean achievement, but this, in our opinion, is not the main interest of the book. It appears to be rather in the nature of a tag, upon which the author has chosen to give the results of many years of archaeological researches over a wide field. In the first volume he brings a great wealth of field observations and well-reasoned interpretations to bear in endeavouring to establish the following theses: (a) that all the principal Aryan peoples seem to have had moots of a circular plan; (b) that these were derived from the circular barrow, that is, the ancestors' tomb, real or symbolic; (c) that all were the scenes of religious rituals; and (d) that all bore a name referable to the same root.

A LARGE part of the volume deals with stone circles, and much evidence is marshalled in an endeavour to show that these, too, were actually moots. The opinion is advanced that they are mostly of much later date than is usually supposed. The author's original observation of the curious way in which both stone circles and some earthen moots of Britain reproduce the essential plan of the national moot of classical Greece, the so-called Greek theatre, is most suggestive.

IN his endeavour to equate old churchyards with moot circles, the author points out that until the 10th century the word "church" meant graveyard, that until late mediæval times the parish church was also the parish moot, and that its garth was circular as a rule, and originally always so. It was also, of course, the place where were buried the "ancestors" of the parish and the scene of religious rituals.

THE opening chapter on "The Circular Churchyard" is really the key to the whole thesis, and once this phenomenon is pointed out one can easily detect the circularity of the original plans of scores of our old churchyards, even in the South-Eastern Counties, far from the modern Celtic areas. Oxted in Surrey, Leybourne near Maidstone, and Alkham near Folkestone are excellent examples of unspoiled circular mounded garths which occur to the writer. In view of the evidence brought forward by Mr. Allcroft it is impossible to doubt that at least a majority of the sites upon which early Christian churches were erected were the secular and sacred meeting places of pre-Christian communities in these islands.

THE first volume contains no index, and we hope this omission will be made good when the second volume on *THE CROSS* is eventually published. The compilation of an adequate index to a work so full of detailed information

will, in itself, be a colossal task. But for this very reason it is essential to the rapidly-growing body of students engaged in regional research, who will find in *THE CIRCLE AND THE CROSS* an invaluable work of reference, quite apart from the thesis which the author sets out to demonstrate.

C. C. FAGG.

HEEN ZUR STAATS—UND KULTUR SOZIOLOGIE: von Prof. Dr. Alfred Weber. Probleme der Staats—und Kultursoziologie, Band I. Verlag Braun, Karlsruhe. (Mk. 6.20.)

THESE essays are concerned with what we understand as political philosophy, rather than with sociology. In the first part the very learned author discusses the developments of the study of sociology (or political philosophy) and its future importance in the general curriculum of historical and philosophical studies. He pleads for a general survey of the problems of sociology, as against the study of mere tables of figures or statistics; though he also emphasises the need for the thorough study of the social phenomena of every period and of every country. For it is through the study of the past that we may find guidance in the intricacies of the social, political and industrial problems of the present and the future. In the second part, Dr. Weber discusses problems of Modern Germany, but some of these, having been written and published before the War, seem already out of date. On the other hand, his articles on Mommsen (the historian of Rome), on the Intellectual Leaders of Germany (published in 1918), and on Mind and Politics in Modern Germany (1920) are thoughtful and suggestive, though somewhat pessimistic. It is interesting to note his appreciation of the qualities of leadership in certain English statesmen, like Mr. Lloyd George, qualities which he seems to think are lacking among German politicians since Bismarck. The volume is well printed and got up.

O. FLETCHER.

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